

THE DYNASTIC ARTS OF THE KUSHANS



John M. Rosenfield

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BAGOBOSDO

ELIOS

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LROOASPO

MAASENO

MANAOBAGO

MAO

MAO-MIRO

MIRO

MOZDOOANO

OORMAZDO

NANA (VARIANTS

NANO, NANAQ)

NANASHAO

SHAONANA

NANAIA

OADO

OANINDO

OAXSHO

OESHO

OESHO-NAN

OESHO-OMMO

ORLAGNO

PHARRO

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COINS

All coins in gold unless marked ΔR (silver) or ΔE (copper). All coins shown to scale except those marked with asterisk, which are enlarged.

ANS American Numismatic Society, New York. Photographs courtesy of the Society.

BM British Museum, London. Photographs courtesy of the Trustees.

PMC *Catalogue of Coins in the Panjab Museum, Lahore*. Vol. 1. Photographs by author, courtesy of the museum.

All other photographs by author, except as noted.

PLATE I

KUJULA KADPHISES

Type I. Hermaeus and Herakles

1. PMC 2. ΔE

2. PMC 6. ΔE

3. PMC 8. ΔE

Type II. Head of "Augustus"

4. ANS. ΔE

5. BM. ΔE

From Gardner, *BMC*, Pl. XXV

Type III. Seated king and Zeus

6. ANS. ΔE

Type IV. Bull and camel

7. PMC. 17. ΔE

Type V. "Macedonian soldier"

8. ANS. ΔE

9. BM. ΔE

Type VI. Bust of king

*10. Taxila Museum. ΔR

*11. Taxila Museum. ΔR

Both from Marshall Taxila, Pl. 243

HERAOS OR MIAOS

12. BM. ΔR

From Gardner, *BMC*, Pl. XXIV.

HYRKODES

*13. PMC 11. ΔR

"SOTER MEGAS"

14. ANS. ΔE

15. ANS. ΔE

16. ANS. ΔE

VIMA KADPHISES

Type I. Elephant rider

17. BM

Type II. Biga

18. BM

PLATE II

- | | |
|--|------------------------------------|
| Type III. Enthroned king | KANISHKA I |
| 19. BM | Type I. Basileus type |
| Type IV. King seated cross-legged | 30. BM |
| 20. BM | 31. ANS. AE |
| Type V. Bust portrait with high helmet | Type Ia. |
| 21. BM | 32. BM |
| 22. BM | Type II. Shaonanoshao type |
| Type Va. | 33. BM |
| 23. BM | Type IIa. |
| 24. BM | 34. BM |
| Type Vb. Bust portrait with low cap | Type IIb. |
| and circlet | 35. BM |
| 25. BM | Type III. King with rounded helmet |
| Type Vc. | 36. BM |
| 26. BM | 37. BM |
| Type VI. Portrait in square | Type IIIa. |
| 27. ANS | 38. BM |
| Type VIa. | Type IV. Seated king. |
| 28. BM | *39. PMC 114. AE |
| Type VII. King standing at altar | |
| 29. Author. AE | |

PLATE III

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|----------------------------|
| *40. PMC 115. AE | Type IV. Huvishka monogram |
| HUVISHKA | 49. BM |
| Type I. Elephant rider | 50. BM |
| 41. ANS | Type IVa. |
| 42. BM | 51. BM |
| 43. ANS. AE | Type IVb. |
| Type II. King seated cross-legged | 52. BM 54. BM |
| 44. BM | 53. BM 55. BM |
| 45. ANS. AE | Type V. Close-up profile |
| Type III. Galamucha | 56. BM |
| 46. BM | Type VI. Youthful portrait |
| 47. BM | 57. BM |
| Type IIIa. | 58. BM |
| 48. BM | *59. PMC 121 |
| | Type VII. Horned headdress |
| | 60. BM |

PLATE IV

61. BM
 62. BM
 Type VIII. Hornless helmet
 63. BM
 Type VIIIa.
 64. BM 67. BM
 65. BM 68. BM
 66. BM
 Type IX. Round helmet
 69. BM
 70. BM
 71. BM
 Type IXa.
 72. BM
 Type IXb. ERAKILO reverse
 73. BM
 Type X. Low helmet
 74. BM

- Type XI. King with turban
 75. Munich, Staatliche Münzsamm-
 lung.
 Photograph courtesy of the Münzsammlung.
 Type B. King in position of ease.
 76. ANS. AE
 77. BM. AE
 From Cunningham, NC, 1892, Pl. IX.
 Type D. King seated on cushions.
 78. Lost.
 From Cunningham, NC, 1892, Pl. XII.
 Type E. King squatting
 79. BM. AE
 From Gardner BMC, Pl. XXIX.

DEITIES SHOWN ON KUSHAN
COINS

1. ARDOXSHO
 Kanishka
 80. BM
 Huvishka
 81. BM

PLATE V

82. BM
 Kanishka III
 83. BM
 2. ASHAEIXSHO
 Huvishka
 84. BM
 3. ATHSHO
 Kanishka
 85. BM
 Huvishka
 86. BM
 87. BM
 4. BODDO
 Kanishka
 88. BM
 4a. SAKAMANABOSDO
 Kanishka
 89. BM. AE
 From Gardner, BMC, Pl. XXVII.

5. ELIOS
 Kanishka
 90. BM
 6. EPHAISTOS
 Kanishka
 91. BM
 7. ERAKILO
 Huvishka
 92. ANS. AE
 8. LROOASPO
 Kanishka
 93. BM
 Huvishka
 94. BM
 9. MAASENO
 Huvishka
 95. BM
 10. MANAOBAGO
 Kanishka
 96. ANS
 97. BM

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Huvishka	100. BM
98. BM	101. BM
*99. PMC 123a	102. BM
11. MAO	
Kanishka	

PLATE VI

Huvishka		12. MIRO	
103. BM	108. BM	Kanishka	
*104. PMC 122	109. BM	115. BM	
105. BM	110. BM	116. BM	
106. BM	111. BM	117. BM	
107. BM	112. BM	Huvishka	
11a. MAO-MIRO		118. BM	121. BM
Huvishka		119. BM	122. BM
*113. PMC 124		120. BM	123. BM
114. BM			

PLATE VII

124. BM	128. BM	134. BM	
125. BM	129. BM	Huvishka	
126. BM	130. BM	135. BM	139. BM
127. BM	131. BM	136. BM	140. BM
13. MOZDOOANO		137. BM	141. BM
Kanishka		138. BM	142. BM
132. ANS		Vasudeva I	
133. BM		143. BM	
14. NANA		14a. NANASHAO	
Kanishka		Kanishka	
		144. BM	

PLATE VIII

145. BM		16. OADO	
Huvishka		Kanishka	
146. BM		*149. Author. Rev. only. AE	
14b. SHAONANA		150. BM. AE	
Huvishka		From Gardner, <i>BMC</i> , Pl. XXVII.	
147. BM		17. OANINDO	
15. NANAIA		Huvishka	
Kanishka		151. BM	153. BM
148. ANS. AE		152. BM	154. BM

18. OAXSHO
Huvishka
155. BM
19. OESHO
Vima
156. BM
157. BM
Kanishka
*158. Mathurā Museum
159. BM
160. BM

- Huvishka
161. BM
162. BM
163. BM
164. BM
- 19a. OESHO-NAN
Huvishka
165. BM
- 19b. OESHO-OMMO
Huvishka
166. BM

PLATE IX

20. ORLAGNO
Kanishka
167. BM
168. BM
21. PHARRO
Kanishka
169. BM
170. BM
Huvishka
171. BM 177. BM
172. BM 178. BM
173. BM 179. BM
174. BM 180. BM

175. BM 181. BM
*176. PMC 126
22. RISHNO
Huvishka
182. BM
183. BM
184. B. Rowland
23. SALENE
Kanishka
185. BM
24. SARAPO
Huvishka
186. BM
187. BM

PLATE X

25. SHAOREORO
Huvishka
188. BM 190. BM
189. BM 191. BM
26. SKANDO-KOMARO (MAASENA) BIZAGO
Huvishka
192. BM 194. BM
193. ANS 195. BM
Blundered reverse types

- Huvishka
196. BM 201. BM
197. BM 202. BM
198. BM 203. BM
199. BM 204. BM
200. BM
- Vāsudeva
Type I. Basic type
205. BM 207. BM
206. BM 208. BM

PLATE XI

209. BM	211. BM	219. BM
210. BM	212. BM	Type IV. Triratna
Type II. Trident in field		222. BM
213. BM	215. BM	226. BM
214. BM	216. BM	223. BM
Type III. Long-haired king		227. BM
217. BM	220. BM	224. BM
218. BM	221. BM	228. BM
		225. BM
		Type V. Triratna and swastika
		229. BM

PLATE XII

230. BM	Type II. King in armor
231. BM	241. BM
232. BM	Coins of a Kanishka
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233. BM	Coins of a Vāsu
234. BM	243. BM
235. BM	245. BM
Kanishka III	244. BM
Type I. King in topcoat	246. BM
*236. Mathurā Museum	Seated king
237. BM	247. ANS
239. BM	Kushano-Sasanian issues
238. BM	Unnamed king
240. BM	248. BM

PLATE XIII

Hormizd. Inaugural type.	Vaharām. Triratna type
249. BM	257. BM
Hormizd. Lion helmet type.	258. BM. Obv. only
250. BM	Vaharām. New monogram.
252. BM. Obv. only	259. BM
251. ANS	260. BM. Obv. only
253. BM	Vaharām. Type II.
Hormizd. Lion helmet with ball ornament	261. BM. Obv. only
254. BM	Vaharām. Type III
255. BM. Obv. only	262. BM.
256. BM.	

PLATE XIV

Greco-Bactrian issues

Casts made by Marc Labarre. Courtesy Délégation Archéologique Française en Afghanistan

Demetrius

263. Kabul Museum. Kunduz Hoard.

AR

264. Kabul Museum. Kunduz Hoard.

AR

Amyntos

265. Kabul Museum. Kunduz Hoard.

AR

266. Kabul Museum. Kunduz Hoard.

AR

Śaka and Indo-Parthian coinage

Maues

267. PMC 1. AR

268. PMC 4. AR

Azes I

269. PMC. 127. AR

270. PMC 37. AR

271. BM. AE

From Gardner, BMC, Pl. XIX.

272. ANS. AE

Azilises

273. PMC 319. AR

PLATE XV

274. PMC 332. AR

275. PMC 334. AR Rev. only

276. PMC 325. AR

Azes II

277. ANS. AE

Zeionises (Jihonika)

278. ANS. AR

Gondophares

280. Author. AE

281. ANS. AR

Pakores

282. ANS. AE

Kshatrapa issues

Nahapāna

283. ANS.

Rājūvula

284. BM. AE

From Gardner, BMC, Pl. XXIII.

Indian tribal coins

Kupiṇḍas

285. ANS. AE

Yaudheyas

286. ANS. AE

“Puri Kushan”

287. ANS. AE

288. ANS. AE

Gupta coins

Chandragupta I

*289. Cast. Mathurā Museum. Obv. only

Original from Bayana Hoard

Chandragupta II

*290. Mathurā Museum. Obv. only

Kumaragupta I

291. ANS.

PLATE XVI

Parthian coins

Mithradates I

292. ANS. AR

Artabanus I

293. ANS. AR

Sinatruces

294. ANS. AR

Phraates III

295. ANS. AR

?Mithradates III

296. ANS. AR

Orodes I

297. ANS. AR

298. ANS. AR

Artabanus II

299. ANS. AR

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 2. Soter Megas. Coins.
 3. Vima Kadphises and others. Coins.
 4. Kanishka and Huvishka. Coins.
 5. ALDSHO. Seal 1.
 6. Later Kushan seal 5.
 7. Huvishka. Coins.
 8. Vāsudeva. Coins.
 9. Later Kushan coins.
 10. Vaharām coins.
 11. Surkh Kotal inscription.
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9. Aureus of Huvishka showing OOROMOZDO. From Altekhar, *JNSI*, XIV (1952), Pl. VI.16.
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 - c. Plaque-belt in rear. From latex impression.
 - d. Hem of tunic, lower right side. From latex impression.
4. Head from princely portrait statue. Mathurā Museum no. 1252. Height 1' 3". Buff Sikri sandstone. Inscribed on right side *nayasa*.
5. Neck and shoulder portion of Kushan royal portrait. Mathurā Museum no. Mat 37. Dimensions 6" x 12". Red Sikri sandstone.
6. Fragment of portrait carving showing ornate hem of garment. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. On loan from A. K. Coomaraswamy. Height 4". Red Sikri sandstone.
7. Carved ornamental fragment. Mathurā Museum no. Mat 72. Height 4½". Red Sikri sandstone. Two views.

*Except where noted, all photographs made by author.

8. Kushan princely portrait statue. Mathurā Museum no. 1251. Height 2' 6". Red Sikri sandstone. Photo Chiranji Lall, Mathurā.
9. Lower half of a standing image of a female. Mathurā Museum no. 214A. Height 13½". Red Sikri sandstone.
10. Lower half of a standing male figure. Mathurā Museum no. 214. Height 3' 9". Red Sikri sandstone. Front and rear views.

OTHER KUSHAN PORTRAIT STATUES

11. Kushan royal portrait in worship as Mahādeo. In temple atop Gokarṇeśvara Mound, Brindāban Gate, Mathurā. Height, about 6'. Red Sikri sandstone. Photo Archaeological Department, Agra Circle.
 - a. The same dressed in cult clothing.
12. Kushan princely portrait. From Gokarṇeśvara Mound. Mathurā Museum no. 3085. Height 3' 7". Sikri red sandstone. Photo Walter Drayer, Zürich.
13. Kushan princely portrait statue, dated in the year 42. Mathurā Museum no. E.25. Height 2' 5". Red Sikri sandstone. Photo Chiranji Lall, Mathura.
14. Head of man wearing Indo-Scythian helmet. National Museum of India, New Delhi. Formerly Mathurā Museum no. G.32. Height 18". Red Sikri sandstone. Photo National Museum of India.
15. Head of man wearing Indo-Scythian helmet. From Pālikherā. Mathura Museum no. 1566. Height 1' 6". Buff Sikri stone. Inscribed *lavaṇa*.
16. Head of man wearing ornate Indo-Scythian helmet. Found in Jumna River. Mathurā Museum no. 2122. Height 9½". Red Sikri sandstone. Front and rear views.
17. Head of man wearing soft cloth cap. Mathurā Museum no. G.34. Height 13". Sikri Red Sandstone.
18. Head of woman with ornament representing the chariot of Sūrya. Lucknow Museum no. 46.80. Buff Sikri sandstone. Height about 10".
19. Four terra cotta heads of Iranian or Indo-Scythian men. Mathurā Museum.
20. Terra cotta figurine of man in Indo-Scythian costume. Mathurā Museum. Height about 7".

INDO-SCYTHIANS AS DONORS OR DEVOTEES; PILLAR FIGURES

21. Addorsed images of two men in Indo-Scythian dress. Mathurā Museum no. G.13. Height 2' 8". Red Sikri stone. Two views.
22. Stair railing pillar with male devotee. From Koṭā village. Mathurā Museum no. J.56. Height of figure, 20". Sikri red sandstone.
23. Vedika pillar figure wearing overcoat with fur trim. National Museum of India, New Delhi. Height 19". Red Sikri sandstone. Photo courtesy National Museum of India.
24. Stair railing pillar with devotee holding cloth banner. Mathurā Museum no. 1275. Height of figure 23". Sikri red sandstone.

25. Stair railing pillar with figure of drummer. Possibly from Bājnā. Mathurā Museum no. 1525. Height of figure 16". Red Sikri sandstone.
26. Vedika pillar with devotee wearing knee-boots. From Koṭā village. Mathurā Museum no. 116. Height of figure 20". Sikri red sandstone.
27. Vedika pillar figure wearing Indo-Scythian helmet with broken bird crest. Mathurā Museum no. J.15. Height of figure 21". Red Sikri sandstone.
28. Railing pillar showing man and woman dressed in Indo-Scythian costume. Mathurā Museum no. 1219. Height 29". Red Sikri sandstone.
29. Railing pillar with panels showing man in Indo-Scythian dress, two men in Indian costume. Mathurā Museum J.13. Height of figure 8". Red Sikri sandstone. Inscribed: "Gift of Saṃghadeva."
30. Fragment of door lintel with five figures in Indo-Scythian costume. From Huvishka's vihāra, Jamālpur. Lucknow Museum no. B.147. Dimensions 17" x 28". Red Sikri sandstone.

INDO-SCYTHIAN FIGURES AS DONOR OR DEVOTEES; BUDDHIST IMAGES

31. Right half of pedestal of Bodhisattva image, dated in the year 20, the reign of Kanishka. From Mathurā City. Mathurā Museum no. 1558. Height 14". Red Sikri sandstone.
32. Pedestal and lower half of image of Maitreya, dated in the year 29, the reign of Huvishka. From Girdharpur. Mathurā Museum no. 2879. Dimensions 27" x 15". Red Sikri sandstone.
33. Pedestal of Buddhist image. Calcutta, Indian Museum no. NS 4965. Height 24". Red Sikri sandstone.
34. Pedestal of standing image of Śākyamuni, dated in the year 22, the reign of Vaskushāṇa. Found at Sāñchī. Sāñchī Museum no. A.83. Buff Sikri sandstone. Width 16".
35. Image of seated Buddah, found in Jumna River. Mathurā Museum no. 2919. Dimensions 10" x 10½". Buff Sikri sandstone.
36. Fragment of lintel carved with Buddha and devotees. Mathurā Museum no. 3507. Height about 12". Red Sikri sandstone.
37. Fragment of lintel carved with figures of Buddhas and devotees. From a well at Mahādeo Ghāṭ, Mathurā City. Mathurā Museum no. 403. Height 6", length 16". Red Sikri sandstone.
38. Stone plaque with devotees in Indo-Scythian clothing. Mathurā Museum no. 2330. Height 12". Red Sikri sandstone.
39. Fragmented plaque showing devotees in Indo-Scythian dress. From a well near the Kaṭrā Mound. Mathurā Museum. Height 26". Buff Sikri sandstone.
40. Fragment of a stone lintel with scenes of the life of the Buddha and other Buddhist images. From the Huvishka vihāra, Jamālpur. Lucknow Museum no. B.208. Length about 5'. Red Sikri sandstone.
 - a. Detail of Sūrya.
 - b. Detail of Indra and Indo-Scythian guard.

OTHER EXAMPLES

41. Stele showing *liṅgam* worshiped by the two men in Indo-Scythian clothing, from the hamlet Seth Bikhchand-ka-nagara, near Dampier Park, Mathurā. Mathurā Museum no. 2661. Height 19". Red Sikri sandstone.
42. Jaina *sarvatobhādrīkā* figure dated in the year ?40. Lucknow Museum no. J.234. Height 31". Buff Sikri sandstone.
 - a. Detail of donor in Indo-Scythian dress.
43. *Sūrya* image from the Kaṅkāli *Ṭilā*. Mathurā Museum no. 269. Height 24". Buff Sikri sandstone. Photo courtesy Fogg Art Museum.
44. *Sūrya* image. Mathurā Museum. Height 7". Buff Sikri Stone.
45. *Sūrya* flanked by *Daṇḍa* and *Piṅgala*, from Barsana, Chhata Tahsil. Mathurā Museum no. 1256. Height 7". Black schist.
46. *Sūrya* in chariot. Mathurā Museum no. 4016. Height 8¾". Red Sikri sandstone.
47. "Bacchanalian group" from *Pālikheṛā*. Mathurā Museum no. C.2. Width at base 3' 5". Red Sikri stone. Photo courtesy Fogg Art Museum.
 - a. Detail of Indo-Scythian devotee.
48. Seated deity, *Kubera* or *Jambhala*. Mathurā Museum. Height 10". Red Sikri sandstone.
49. Image of *Kārttikeya*, dated in the year 11. Mathurā Museum no. 2949. Height 33". Red Sikri sandstone.
50. *Gandhāran* statue of a woman, possibly the goddess *Hārītī*, from the *Saptarshi Ṭilā*. Mathurā Museum no. F.42. Height 4'5". Blue-gray schist. Photo Walter Drayer, Zürich.
51. Torso of man, from *Mōrā*. Mathurā Museum no. E.22. Height 2'3". Red Sikri sandstone. Photo Archaeological Survey of India, courtesy Fogg Art Museum.
52. Lower half of figure of woman (named ?*Tosha*), from *Mōrā*, inscribed in the reign of *Kanishka*. Mathurā Museum no. E.20. Height 8' 1". Red Sikri sandstone.
53. Standing image of *Śākyamuni Bodhisattva*, dedicated by the monk *Bala* and two *Kshatrapas* at *Sārnāth*, dated in the year three of the reign of *Kanishka*. *Sārnāth* Museum no. B(a)1. Height 8'9". Sikri sandstone. Photo courtesy Benjamin Rowland, Jr.
54. Standing image of *Maitreya*, from *Ahicchatra*. National Museum of India, New Delhi. Height 28". Buff sandstone. Photo courtesy National Museum of India.

WORKS FROM THE GANDHARA DISTRICT AND VICINITY

TAXILA SITE AND MUSEUM

55. Two Indo-Scythian donors from Chapel B.5, *Dharmarājīkā Stūpa*. Taxila Museum. Height of figures about 4½". Gray schist. For complete view of jamb, see Ingholt no. 419.
56. Indo-Scythian devotee and wife. Stucco. From *Jauliāñ*. Now in Taxila Museum. For complete view, see Marshall, *Taxila*, Pl. 139, no. 181, p. 471.

57. Mohṛā Morādu. Vihāra courtyard. Stucco figures of Buddhas and devotees.
 - a. Detail of devotees on pedestal.

STAIR-RISER RELIEFS REPUTEDLY FROM THE BUNER DISTRICT

58. Relief with musicians in Scythian costume. Length 17½", height 6¾". Schist. The Cleveland Museum of Art, the Dudley P. Allen Collection no. 30.328. Photo courtesy the Cleveland Museum of Art.
59. Relief carving with armed devotees in Indo-Scythian dress. Toronto, Royal Ontario Museum (no. 939.17.19). Schist. Length 19", height 9". Photo courtesy Royal Ontario Museum.

OBJECTS FOUND IN THE IMMEDIATE VICINITY OF PESHĀWAR

60. The Kanishka reliquary, from excavation of stūpa at Shāh-jī-ki-dheṛī. Peshāwar Museum no. 452. Height 7⅝". Bronze.
 - a. Detail of king flanked by personifications of sun and moon. Height of king 2".
61. Pāñcika and Hāriti from Shāh-jī-ki-dheṛī. Peshāwar Museum no. 1416. Length 13", height 14". Schist.
62. Figure of Pāñicka-Kubera from Takal. Lahore Museum no. 3. Height 5' 11". Schist.
 - a. Detail of Indo-Scythian devotee.

WORKS FROM SHARĪ-BAHLOL

63. Fragment of a male donor portrait. Peshāwar Museum no. 1769/(17). Height about 3'. Gray Schist.
64. Royal donatrix. Peshāwar Museum no. 1427. Detail of head. Height of figure 61". Schist. For complete view, see Ingholt no. 400.
65. Portrait head of man. Peshāwar Museum no. 1290. Height 11½". Schist.
66. Man in Indo-Scythian dress and robe. Peshāwar Museum no. 1710. Height 25¾". Schist.
67. Devotee in Kushan costume. Peshāwar Museum no. 1769. Height 10¾". Schist.
68. Relief fragment showing devotees. Peshāwar Museum no. 1551. Height of figure 5¾". Schist.
69. Relief fragment with monk and devotees in Indo-Scythian costume. Peshāwar Museum no. 1722. Height 25¾". Schist.

WORKS FROM OTHER GANDHĀRAN SITES

70. Fragment of male donor figure. Peshāwar Museum no. 2051. Formerly in the Guides Mess Collection, Mardān. Height 17". Schist.
71. Portrait head of a man. Formerly collection of Major General H. L. Haughton, Blewbury, England. Height 6". Green schist. Photo courtesy Fogg Art Museum.
72. Head of mustached man. From Rokhri. Lahore Museum no. 175. Stucco. Height 8¾".

73. Head of man wearing Indo-Scythian helmet. From Rokhri. Lahore Museum no. 166. Stucco. Height 12½".
74. Pilaster with relief carving of Indo-Scythian devotee. Peshāwar Museum no. 342. Schist. Height of man 8". For complete view, see Ingholt no. 421.
75. Seated Kubera-Pāñcika. Possibly from Jamālgarhī. British Museum. Height 17½". Schist.
76. Fragment of relief carving with wind god flanked by two Kushan men. Berlin-Dahlem, formerly Staatliche Museen (Museum für Völkerkunde). Schist. Photo courtesy Museum für Völkerkunde.
77. Relief fragment of seated Bodhisattva with devotees in Indo-Scythian costume. Lahore Museum no. 105. Dimensions 15" by 13½". Schist.
78. Tutelary Pair. From Takht-i-Bāhī. British Museum. Schist. Photo courtesy British Museum.
79. Relief fragment, Chandaka holding Śākyamuni's turban. Possibly from Hadda. Lahore Museum. Dimensions 8" by 9". Stucco.
80. Temptation of Śākyamuni. Peshāwar Museum no. 2070. Formerly collection of Guides Mess, Mardān. Dimensions 15" x 20". Schist.
81. Temptation of Śākyamuni. Washington, D.C., Freer Gallery of Art No. 49.9. Schist. Photo courtesy Freer Gallery of Art.
82. Śākyamuni offering benediction at Deer Park. Washington, D. C., Freer Gallery of Art no. 49.9. Schist. Photo courtesy Freer Gallery of Art.
83. Offering of the four bowls to Śākyamuni. Detail of Kubera. Peshāwar, Gai Collection. Height of Kubera, 13". Schist. For full view, see Ingholt, Pl. XX.1.
84. Trimurti from Akhun Dheṛī. Peshāwar Museum. Photo: ASIR, 1913-14, Pl. XXII.
85. Lower part of scene of the Mahāparinirvāṇa of Śākyamuni. London, Victoria and Albert Museum no. I.S. 7-1948. Height 16", Length 49". Schist. Photo: by courtesy of Victoria and Albert Museum.
86. Distribution of the relics of Śākyamuni. Detail of Prince. From Rānighāṭ. Lahore Museum no. I.39. Height 8⅝". Schist. For full view, see Ingholt no. 153.
87. Transportation of the relics of the Buddha. Lahore Museum no. 1172. Height 8". Schist. Photo courtesy Fogg Art Museum.
88. Pseudo-Corinthian capital with solar quadriga. From Abarchinar, Swāt. Peshāwar Museum no. 2006. Schist.
89. Sūrya in quadriga. From Jamālgarhī. Calcutta, Indian Museum no. G.58, ser. 154. Height 8¼". Schist.
90. Theophany relief. Lahore Museum no. 1135. Dimensions 37" by 47½". Schist.
91. Theophany relief. Lahore Museum no. 572. Height 32". Schist. Photo Archaeological Survey of India, courtesy Fogg Art Museum.
92. Preaching Buddha flanked by two Bodhisattvas. Perhaps from Jamālgarhī. London, British Museum. Schist. Photo courtesy British Museum.

WORKS FROM AFGHANISTAN

HADDA

93. Relief fragment showing Indo-Scythian devotee. Paris, Musée Guimet no. Hadda MG 1724. Dimensions 5" x 5¼". Schist. Photo courtesy Musée Guimet.
94. Devotee in Indo-Scythian dress. Kabul Museum. Height of figure 12". Schist.
95. Stucco head and torso of Indo-Scythian. Kabul Museum. Height 10". Photo courtesy Nihon Keizai Shimbun.

KABUL REGION AND BEGRAM

96. Sūrya in biga. From Khair Khaneh. Kabul Museum. Height 16¼". White marble.
97. Objects from the Begram treasure. Kabul Museum.
 - a. Ivory plaque showing triton and makaras. Width 4". Photo courtesy Nihon Keizai Shimbun.
 - b. Bronze statue of Serapis-Herakles. Height 10". Photo courtesy Nihon Keizai Shimbun.

SHOTORAK

98. Buddha flanked by Kaśyapas and two Kushan donors. Kabul Museum. Dimensions 22½" by 34¾". Schist. Photo of object in situ by J. Hackin courtesy Musée Guimet, Paris.
 - a. Detail of two Kushan donors.
99. Remains of large standing Buddha image and pedestal. Kabul Museum. Dimensions of pedestal 15" by 21". Schist.
 - a. Detail of central part of pedestal showing teaching Maitreya.
100. Pedestal showing teaching Maitreya. Paris, Musée Guimet, no. MG 18962. Dimensions 10½" by 17". Schist. Photo courtesy Musée Guimet.
101. Seated Maitreya with Indo-Scythians on pedestal. Kabul Museum. Height 22½". Schist.
102. "Trapuśa and Bhallika" flanking the Buddha. Kabul Museum. Height 10¼". Schist.
103. Worship of Śākyamuni's alms bowl. Kabul Museum. Height 8⅝". Schist.
104. Image pedestal with Maitreya flanked by two groups of Kushans. From Paitava. Kabul Museum. Dimensions 10" by 18½". Schist.
105. Image pedestal with Śākyamuni flanked by Bodhisattvas and devotees. Paris, Musée Guimet no. 21157. Dimensions 7¾" by 13½". Schist. Photo courtesy Musée Guimet.
106. Miracle of Śrāvastī. From Paitava. Paris, Musée Guimet. Schist. Photo courtesy Musée Guimet.
107. One support of a lion throne. Shotorak. Kabul Museum. Height 14". Schist.
108. Donor in Kushan dress. Paris, Musée Guimet no. 21151. Height 9¾". Schist.

109. Devotee in Kushan dress. Kabul Museum. Height 19 $\frac{7}{8}$ ". Schist.
110. Homme-arcade with men in Kushan dress. Kabul Museum. Height 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". Schist.
111. Relief fragment with garland borne by Indo-Scythian man in heavy overcoat. Kabul Museum. Height 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". Schist.
112. Fragmented relief showing Indo-Scythian votaries. Kabul Museum. Height of figures about 7". Schist.

KUSHAN DYNASTIC SANCTUARY AT SURKH KOTAL

113. Panoramic view of lower part of stairway.
114. Main stairway from bottom looking toward cella at top of hill.
115. View of peribolos from southeast corner of cella.
116. Outer wall of cella. Engaged pilasters.
117. Fire altar in center of Temple B. Photo courtesy DAFA.
118. Remains of large statue of seated prince with flaming shoulders. Height 86 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". Photo courtesy DAFA.
119. Two princely portraits replaced in socles, southern end of peribolos. Copy from DAFA photos D-1834, 3533.
120. Lower half of portrait statue of prince with vine rinceau pattern on tunic. Limestone. Copy from DAFA photo 1785.
 - a. Detail of belt and tunic. Copy from DAFA photo 1886.
121. Torso of statue of standing prince wearing fur-edged topcoat. Height 52 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". Limestone. Photo courtesy DAFA.
122. Fragment of head of princely portrait statue. Height 12 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". Copy from DAFA photo E-1956.
123. Unfinished relief, portion of investiture scene. Height 13 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". Limestone. Photo courtesy DAFA.
124. Merlon ornament with small figure in squatting position. Limestone. Photo courtesy DAFA.
125. Fragments of stucco images from the peribolos.
 - a. From niche M. Copy from DAFA photo E-1411.
 - b. Copy from DAFA photo C-657.
126. Limestone figure of three-headed deity, probably Siva. From Saozma Kala. Museum, Mazar-i-Sharif. Photo courtesy the Jimbunkagaku Kenkyusho, Kyoto University.
127. Buddhist relief carving from Kundūz. Collection Ghulamsavar Nashir, Kundūz. Photo courtesy the Jimbunkagaku Kenkyusho, Kyoto University.

IRAN

128. Saka Tigrakhauda (Pointed-hat Scythians). Persepolis, Apadana. Eastern stairway.
129. Rock relief of prince sacrificing at altar. Bisutūn. Photo courtesy of Jimbunkagaku Kenkyusho, Kyoto University.

130. Princely portrait from Shamī. Museum of Archaeology, Teheran. Height 6' 4". Bronze. Photo courtesy Morteza Rostami.
a. Detail of head. Photo Rostami.
131. Male head found on northeast corner of terrace, Persepolis. Collection Iranian Antiquity Service no. PT5.767. Height 3½". Brown terra cotta. Photo courtesy Oriental Institute, University of Chicago.
132. Male head from Susa. Paris, Louvre, no. SB.790. Limestone. Photo Maurice de Chuzeville.
133. Princely effigy in bronze, said to be Sasanian. Paris, Louvre no. 7379. Height about 5". Bronze. Photo courtesy Archives photographiques, Palais Royal.
134. Vaharām II (A.D. 276–293) and court. Naqsh-e Rostam. Rock-cut relief. Faintly visible Elamite figures flanking Sasanian ones at both ends of scene.
135. Parthian or Sasanian helmet. Bronze. British Museum. Photo courtesy British Museum.

HATRA

(All photographs by courtesy and permission of Department of Antiquities Government of Iraq)

136. Unidentified royal portrait, from the Temple of Baalshamin. Mosul Museum no. 5. Height ca. 79". Mosul Marble.
137. Unidentified portrait of a man. Mosul Museum no. 14. Height 70". Limestone.
a. Detail of upper part of torso.
138. Upper portion of portrait statue believed to be that of King Sanatruq. Baghdad, Iraq Museum. Life size. Mosul Marble.
139. Portrait statue of unidentified military figure. Baghdad, Iraq Museum no. 56760. Height ca. 75". Yellow Limestone.
140. Statue of Ashur-Baal. Baghdad, Iraq Museum no. 56760. Limestone. Height 68¾".
141. Portrait statue of Princess Washfari, dated A.D. 137. Baghdad, Iraq Museum. no. 56752. Height 82". Marble.
142. Statue of Herakles. Baghdad, Iraq Museum no. 56768. Height 70¼". Marble.
143. Relief carving of Nergal and his consort Atargatis. From the "First Temple." Height 31¼". Mosul Museum no. 11. Polychrome marble.
144. Solar deity Shamash. Mosul Museum no. 22. Limestone 75 x 53 cm.
145. Unidentified deity sacrificing goat. Baghdad, Iraq Museum no. 56716. Height 16½". Marble.
146. Two unidentified seated deities. Baghdad Museum. Marble.
147. Moon goddess. Mosul Museum. Diameter 14½". White limestone.

KOMMAGENE

(Except where noted, all photographs courtesy Miss Theresa Goell, Director, Nimrud Dagħ Excavations, American Schools of Oriental Research)

148. Hierothesion of Antiochus I at Nimrud Dagħ. East terrace, general view.
149. Colossal head of Apollo-Mithra-Helios-Hermes, East terrace.

150. Colossal head of Apollo-Mithra-Helios-Hermes. West terrace, Nimrud Dagħ.
151. Antiochus greeted by Apollo-Mithra. West terrace, Nimrud Dagħ.
152. Persian ancestor of Kommagene kings, probably Xerxes. West terrace, South socle 2, Nimrud Dagħ. Berlin, Staatliche Museen. Photo courtesy Staatliche Museen.
153. Persian ancestor of Kommagene kings, probably Darius. East terrace North socle 1. Photo F. K. Doerner and Theresa Goell.
154. Mithradates Kallinikos and Herakles. Hierothronos of Mithradates at Arsamaeia-on-the-Nymphaios. Photo courtesy F. K. Doerner.

MISCELLANEOUS

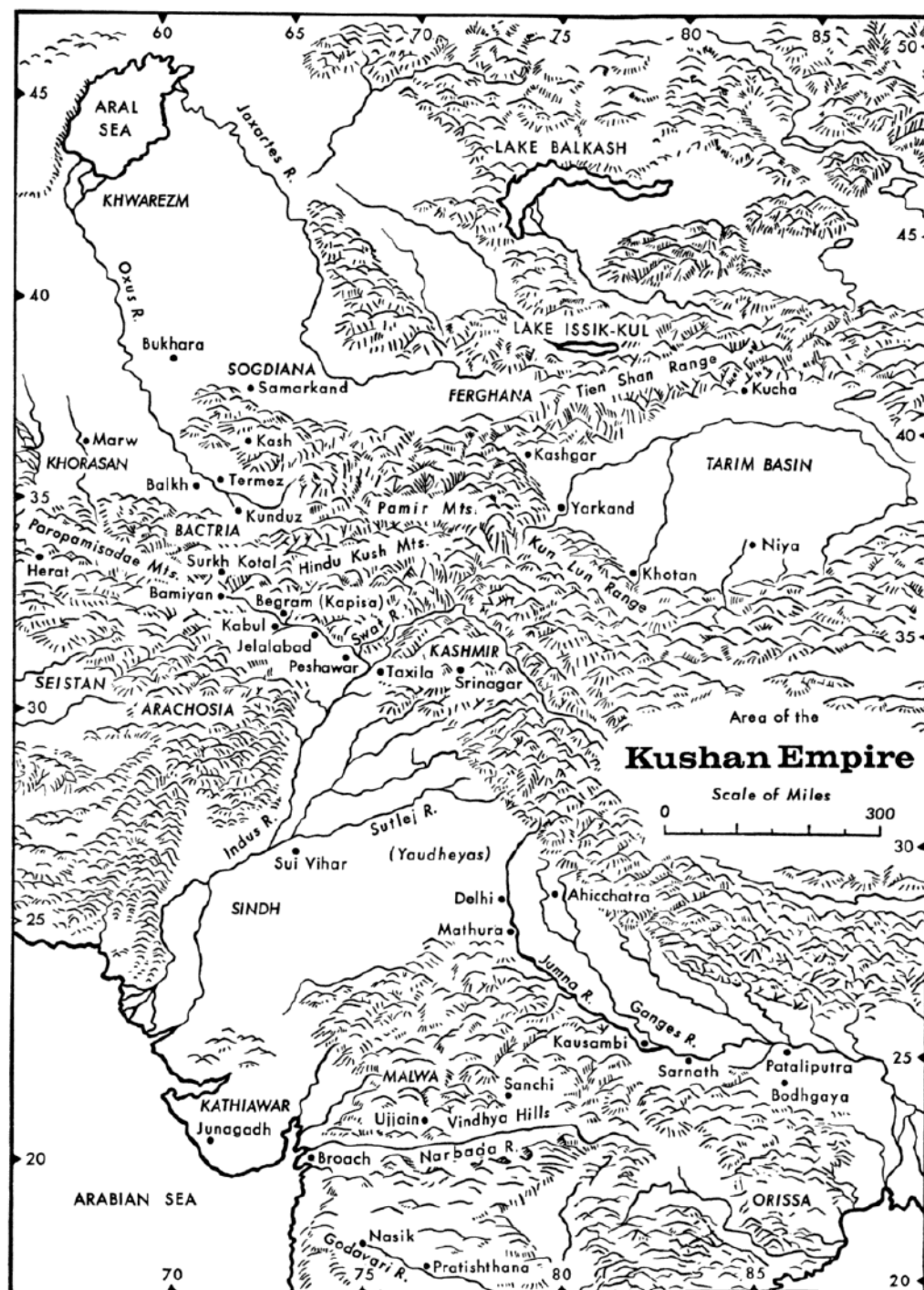
155. Sāñchī Stūpa I. South torāṇa. East pillar front. Receipt of the Bodhisattva's headdress in the Trayastriṃśa Paradise. Inscribed by the ivory carvers of Vidiśā.
156. Bodh Gayā. Site Museum. Vedika pillar medallion. Warrior armed with scimitar and shield.

NĀGĀRJUNIKONḌA SITE MUSEUM

157. Indo-Scythian guard. Pillar relief from the palace area.
158. Cup bearer in Indo-Scythian costume. Pillar relief from the palace area.
159. Stūpa slab. Detail of cakravartin and his seven treasures.
160. Panel from Site 5. Śākyamuni's farewell to Chandaka.
161. "Ehuvula" frieze. Renunciation of Śākyamuni.
162. Frieze, Site 6. Renunciation scene. Width of panel 14¼".
163. Frieze, Site 6. Panel of the First Sermon at Benares. Width of panel 14¼".

BHUMARA

164. Sūrya with Daṇḍa and Piṅgala. Calcutta, Indian Museum. Height of Sūrya 14".
165. Enthroned Yama. Allahābād Municipal Museum.
166. Gandhāran Buddha seated in European pose in teaching gesture. British Museum no. 1948.10-11-1.
167. Gupta Period Buddha image seated in European pose in teaching gesture. Sāmāth. British Museum.



Map 1. The Kushan Empire

INTRODUCTION

IN THE first three centuries of the Christian Era, a great inland empire stretched from the Ganges River valley into the oases of Central Asia. This empire was created by a nation of former nomads whose ruling princes gave themselves the dynastic name Kushan. Opulent and powerful men, cast in much the same mold of Iranian princely ideals as Darius the Great, Timur, or Akbar, they governed a land which lay at the junction of three culture spheres—the Indian subcontinent, Iran and the Hellenized Orient, and the steppes of Central Asia.

The empire of the Kushans was the setting for a number of crucial events in the history of Asian civilization. From India, the Buddhist faith spread rapidly through the empire into the cities of the Tarim basin, where it then began its penetration and conversion of China. It followed routes opened by commerce, for through the Kushan citadels passed much of the flourishing trade in luxury goods from China to the emporia of western Asia. The Kushan nobility supported the faith lavishly, and Buddhist sculpture workshops became productive to an unparalleled degree. The theological doctrines of Buddhism's Greater Vehicle, Mahāyāna, appealed greatly to the people of the empire, and indeed seem in part to have been adapted to their spiritual needs. The Kushan Empire was one of the principal secular powers of its day; its armies engaged those of the Chinese, Iranians, and Indians. The Kushans were a major factor in the military strategy of Parthia and also, indirectly, of Rome. The first three centuries of the Christian Era were an age of extensive cosmopolitan contacts, of the mingling of men and goods and ideals throughout the civilized world; in the dynastic art of the Kushans, this process is reflected with great clarity.

In India itself, the Kushans and other Indo-Scythians provoked a hostile reaction.¹ They had violently captured much of the homeland of classical Indian culture in the upper Gangetic plain; they had disturbed the orderly and sanctified processes of Brahmanical society, embraced the heretical doctrines of Buddhism, and induced in orthodox Indians a vision of the total breakdown of their ancient moral and spiritual order. Consequently, Indian records describe this period of Kushan rule in baleful terms: "There will be Yavanas [aliens from the north or west] here by reason of religious feeling or ambition or plunder; they will not be kings solemnly anointed, but will follow evil customs by reason of the corruption of the age. Massacring women and children and killing one another . . . kings of continual upstart races, falling as soon as they arise, will exist in succession through fate. They will be destitute of righteousness, affection and wealth. Mingled with them will be Aryan and Mleccha [barbarian] folk everywhere. They prevail in turn; the population will perish."²

This expression of *Götterdämmerung* was probably written in the third century A.D., toward the end of the main period of Kushan rule in India, and must be an accurate description of the militant brutality of the Indo-Scythians and their internal dynastic struggles. The fact remains, however, that by the end of the fourth century much of India had been reunified under the Gupta dynasty and a new flowering of its classical civilization had begun. From the age of the Guptas have come the noble carvings of Sārnāth and Deogarh, the frescoes of Ajantā, the mature dramas of Kālidāsa; of these, the arts of the Kushan period were the immediate and indispensable forerunners: the dramas of Aśvaghoṣa, the carvings of Mathurā and Gandhāra. The cultural achievements of the Kushan Empire were anathema to the orthodox Brahman compilers of the Purāṇas, because these achievements were set chiefly in the framework of the Buddhist religion and the statecraft of foreign potentates. They are, nonetheless, an integral part of Indian cultural history.

The history of the high and ancient cultures of Asia and Europe is in part the record of the recurrence of such invasions as that of the Kushans. Disturbed by climatic changes or internecine wars or driven by ambition, nations of nomads would break into the settled agricultural lands whenever their power had become irresistible, whenever the defending states had become weak and divided. Even a cursory list of triumphant invaders evokes the grandeur of this theme: Mughals, Mongols, Manchus, Seljuk and Ottoman Turks, Tartars, Huns, Franks, Vandals, Goths, Celts, Scythians, Sarmatians, Hittites, Iranians and Indo-Aryans. The intrusion of the Kushans into India may be seen as yet another episode of this immemorial process of Eurasian history.

As a force in Asian civilization, the Kushans were fully as influential as the Timurids or the Mughals, but their dynasty has been slow to regain a

place in recorded history. No integral account of the Kushan state has been found in any traditional source, and the creation of its history is a remarkable achievement of modern scholarship, of a gradual synthetic process of gathering clues from many sources and combining them into an artificial record. The process is far from complete.

How abstract and tenuous this history is can be seen by comparing the records of more recent tribal expansion and conquest in India from Central Asia. The Mughal Empire of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries bears several general cultural traits in common with that of the Kushans. The Mughal too was a great inland state comprising much of northern India and Afghanistan; its ruling family also rose to power in Outer Iran; the culture of its nobility was also largely Iranian at first, was gradually altered by Indian customs, but was also subject to strong waves of influence from the West.

The record of the Mughals is preserved in the most minute detail in diaries and court records and the observations of European travelers. The historical data of alliances, battles, the founding of cities, and struggles in the accession to the throne are charged with the emotional responses of the major protagonists. The Mughal princes, such as Akbar or Aurangzeb, are sharply defined individuals; their tastes and weaknesses and destinies are well known. In Agra, Delhi, or Lahore, the buildings of these princes are so well-preserved that we can conceive the magnitude of their power and their sense of architectural form, their preference for austere geometric shapes enriched by sumptuous surface material and ornament. A dominant aesthetic spirit links these buildings with most Mughal miniature painting and some classic North Indian court music as it has been preserved by tradition. Consequently, we can speak of a Mughal period in the history of art of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries with confidence that the meaning will be generally agreed upon, referring to that flowering of the arts centered upon the courts of those princes and following the rising and then descending curve of their fortunes.

We can speak of a Kushan period of the first to the fourth centuries A.D. with far less confidence, chiefly because our information is still badly dispersed. The architectural remains are poorly preserved and few in number. The dating of the sculptures of the two major artistic centers of the empire, Mathurā and Gandhāra, is quite uncertain, and we are not yet able to coördinate them thoroughly. Indian religious texts are typically a-historical in their concerns, difficult to date and to attribute authorship. Moreover, the Kushans emerged from the eastern part of the ancient Iranian culture sphere—the one which is the most obscure historically. Whereas for the Mughals we know the intimate thoughts and almost daily movements of their princes, the very existence of certain Kushan kings is a matter of painful conjecture growing out of the mute testimony of coins, abraded inscriptions, the cryptic references in a foreign annal.

Nevertheless, there are enough material remains—particularly the great quantity of Buddhist sculpture from Mathurā and Gandhāra and the vast coinage of the Kushan kings—to convince us that the definition of a Kushan period in terms of “the intrinsic analogies between such overtly disparate phenomena as the arts, literature, philosophy, social and political currents, religious movements, etc.” has a basis in fact.³ These analogies reveal themselves, however, only gradually as one patiently examines the fragments from the shattered structure of that ancient cultural ethos. Many fragments have been irretrievably lost, others irreparably altered, still others seem deceptively to fit together. The difficulties inherent in the technical aspects of this study, however, “should not deter us from recognizing the existence, from the lands of the Oxus to those of the Ganges, of a vast unity in the history of art similar to the place which the Kushan empire occupies in political history.”⁴

Kushan research began around a hundred years ago, with the pioneer efforts of H. H. Wilson, Prinsep, and Lassen. Although much work has been done since that time, the subject as a whole is fraught with unresolved problems of every kind. The most urgent difficulties are those of chronology: very few events can be dated with much certainty. This is the *pons asinorum* which has long confronted those who attempt to carry research beyond vague generalizations. The open issues extend to ethnology, philology, dynastic history, in which the number of controversies does not diminish. Since it is impossible to take a stand on most of these issues without coming into disagreement with some other scholar, I want to subscribe to an attitude expressed by Paul Pelliot regarding this problem: “We cannot proceed except through successive *travaux d’approche* in which each person profits from the work of his predecessors and attempts, in turn, to organize his own observations into a provisional system whose fragility he does not conceal.”⁵

Anyone attempting a history of the period of Indo-Scythian rule is obliged to make an amalgam of independent scholarly disciplines. These extend far beyond the usual competence of a single person: epigraphic and numismatic studies; text criticism of sources from China, Greece, Rome, Iran, and India; philological research; religious history; art-historical analyses of iconology and the development of styles; archaeological exploration in the Soviet Union and western China, Afghanistan, Pakistan, and India. In my own attempt, I fully realize the dangers involved in ranging so far from my own special field, and have tried to concentrate on Kushan data where it seems the most abundant and the least subject to dispute. There are many topics, especially in the fields of philology and the history of religion, which have seemed speculative to me and to which I refer only in passing, even though they may well be proved correct by later discoveries.

Moreover, I have largely avoided two major lines of approach which have hitherto been the principal ones in this field. The first is the central problem of chronology, which has tantalized scholars for generations—the attempt to

give values in the Christian Era to the numerous dates in unknown eras which appear in the inscriptions of the period. It is not that I feel that such values cannot ultimately be given or that the attempts should not have been made, but the many arguments whether certain problematic inscriptions belong to a Seleucid, Parthian, Vikrama, Old Saka, New Saka, or independent Kanishka era have not yielded a single demonstrable proof. There are still too many missing junctures in the historical record, too many uncertain readings of key inscriptions; attempts to establish sharply defined dates for the entire period have invariably distorted one part or another of the chronological sequence. Thus, in order to concentrate upon a different approach to Kushan studies, I have assumed only as a working hypothesis that Kanishka's accession (one of the key problems) must have occurred in the first quarter of the second century A.D., about 110 to 115. (This question is reviewed separately in Appendix I.)

As for the second line of approach, I have not attempted to organize Gandhāran sculptures into stylistic-chronological groups and phases, on which there have been no less than four major essays in recent years, widely varying in their results. I am convinced that such arrangements will become more meaningful only when they can be confirmed by the larger cultural-historical patterns of the time. It is possible to consider the sculptures entirely in terms of their stylistic qualities, but to re-create something of their intended impact requires a knowledge of this background—that is, of the subtle equation of cultural ideals and inventive personalities, of social and economic forces which combined to nourish a creative atmosphere for the arts. Because I have concentrated here on this latter process, the reader will find few lengthy defenses of the dating of Gandhāran art—the Mathurā sculptures are more securely linked to the relative chronology of the Kushan dynasty. I have given only reasonable estimates, especially for the Gandhāran works after the mid-third century A.D., for which there exist few positive aids to dating.

I have provided a lengthy historical review in order to bring the Kushan dynasty—its personalities and institutions—into focus as a distinct factor in the artistic and cultural activity of the empire. I have not, however, tried to write a Kushan history as such, nor should my survey be considered definitive.⁶ Broadly, this book examines in closest detail material and events between the years A.D. 50 and 300, a period often called that of the Great Kushans. To discuss more recent material—such as the invasions of the Kidara Kushans and the Ephthalites or the problems of fourth-century sculpture in India—would open a vast number of new issues and enter into an essentially different epoch.⁷

In spite of extensive excursions into political or numismatic subjects, this book aims above all to be a history of art. Its ultimate theme is the changes in the style and iconography of Indian sculpture which occurred in the period of Kushan hegemony.

I. THE CREATION OF THE EMPIRE

THE NAME Kushan is probably a dynastic one. It appears regularly on coins as a suffix to the individual king's name—for example, SHAO-NANOSHAO KANESHI KOSHANO (King of Kings, Kanishka the Kushan). It also appears commonly on inscriptions, as on a dedicatory stone for a Buddhist stūpa at Mānikāla near Rawalpindi,¹ in which a certain General Lāla was called Gushāṇa-vaṃśa samvardhaka (increaser, or strengthener, of the Kushan line); here the term Kushan was used together with the Sanskrit vaṃśa as royal lineage or dynasty in the sense of the Guptavaṃśa or the Harivaṃśa. The subject of one of the Mathurā royal portrait statues (Figure 1) is labeled Kushāṇaputra (presumably Scion of the Kushan family.) The name appears as the designation of the empire itself in the Parthian part of the trilingual inscription, of about A.D. 260,² of Shāpūr I as Naqsh-i-Rustam as kvšnxštr (kušankhšathr). From this I have adapted the term Kushanshahr as a conventional referent to the empire.

THE NAME AND LANGUAGE OF THE KUSHANS

Originally, the name was that of either a family or tribe; it became a national designation probably during the late first century B.C., when the nation of semi-nomads was unified under the rule of a single chieftain who is known in Chinese sources (and only in them) as the Kuei-shuang-wang (Ruler of the Kuei-shuang [= the Kushans]). The only earlier name by which the nation can be called is the Chinese Yüeh-chih, which may have some allusion to Lunar Family (or Race),³ and is more inclusive than Kushan was originally.

The reference to the moon is somewhat tentative on Chinese philological grounds, but some real aspect of Kushan mythology may have been involved, because a considerable number of lunar emblems appear in the costumes of the Indo-Scythians; Sylvain Lévi maintained that the greatest of their kings, Kanishka I, probably bore the Sanskrit epithet *candra*.⁴ In any event, the *Hou Han-shu* (118.9a) remarks that the Chinese continued to call these people the Ta (Great) Yüeh-chih after many other countries called them the Kuei-shuang-wang (King[dom] of the Kushans).

In India, strangely enough, the name Kushan as such never appears in the *Purāṇas*, *Mahābhārata*, or other quasi-historical sources. These people must have been denoted by variations of the word Tokhari, such as *Tuškara*, *Tushāra*, *Tukhāra*, *Turushka*.⁵ The *Purāṇas* uniformly state that the number of *Tukhāra* kings was fourteen, but the combined length of their rule varies widely. The archaeological mound near Mathurā which yielded the Kushan royal portraits is still called by the local villagers the *Tōkrī Tīlā* (mound of the *Tukhāras*), although in modern Hindi the term has come to denote merely any foreigner from the north.

Possibly related is the fact that classical Western sources mentioned one tribe of nomads, the *Τοχάρων* or Thocari, among the four or five nations which conquered Bactria in the mid-second century B.C. The Chinese dynastic annals described the Yüeh-chih as entering this region at the same time. Thus it is often assumed that the Yüeh-chih and *Τοχάρων* were the same people.⁶ Moreover, the region which is described by Hsüan-tsang as the "old territory of the Tu-ho-lo" and the *Tukhāristān* of the early Muslim geographers must have been the heartland of the Kushanshahr north of the Hindu Kush (see Chapter II).

An additional factor is the discovery, in certain towns along the northern trade route through the Tarim basin, of Buddhist manuscripts of the seventh and eighth centuries of the Christian Era. These texts were written in a language now extinct but which scholars have labeled Tokhari or Tokharian on the basis of material in colophons added at a later date. Tokharian belongs to the Indo-European linguistic family, but it has no close relationship to any of its contemporary Central Asian neighbors; instead, it is closest to the much older "satem" tongues of the Indo-European family. Ancient Indian sources seem to refer to the Kushans as *Tukhāras*; Tokharians seem to have been among the nomadic conquerors of Bactria in the second century B.C. *Tukhāristān* seems to have been the name of much of the Kushanshahr north of the Hindu Kush. A language which has been called Tokharian was spoken in the northern oasis towns of the Tarim basin, presumably subject to strong influence from the Kushanshahr. But how these facts are to be connected has not been agreed upon by skilled philologists.⁷ A major problem is that the name Tokharian appears on no Kushan coins or dynastic inscriptions,

and in no ancient source is it directly and explicitly associated with the Kushans.⁸

Fortunately, many problems of nomenclature and language of the Kushans should become much clearer within the next few years. In May, 1957, the first lengthy inscription of the Kushans north of the Hindu Kush was excavated at Surkh Kotal in Afghanistan. Written in cursive Greek script, it dates from probably the early or middle second century A.D. It has been edited and partly translated by the late André Maricq, whose analysis has in turn been emended by W. B. Henning.⁹ Since the language is largely unknown, a full translation of the text will be a lengthy and difficult task. Maricq called the language of the inscription Etéo-Tokharian chiefly on the grounds, as outlined above, that it was found in the region called Tukhāristān by Muslim and Chinese writers and that classical Western sources described a *Toxaroi* among nomadic invaders of this region in the second century B.C. Henning quickly challenged this nomenclature, saying that there is no evidence that it was the language of the invading *Toxaroi*, and maintained that it is yet impossible to decide whether this was the indigenous language of the area and adopted by the invaders or whether the Yüeh-chih brought it with them. In India, Kushan donative inscriptions are invariably in an Indian language, usually mixed Sanskrit written in a Brāhmī script in Gangetic India and in Kharoshthī to the northwest. Even in official donations, the Kushans did not use their own language in India. In any event, it can now be stated that the language of the Surkh Kotal inscriptions belongs to the Indo-European linguistic family, to the so-called Middle-Iranian group; it is the sixth such language for which a continuous text exists, related to such tongues as the Parthian, Sogdian, Khwārezmian, and the Saka dialects.

Certain modern historians have said that racially the Kushans were of Mongolian extraction.¹⁰ It is true that Central Asian nomadic confederations were frequently of mixed racial composition, but in coin images and portrait carvings the features of the Indo-Scythians are primarily Caucasoid: narrow heads, prominent noses, abundant and heavy hair and beard, eyes without the Mongolian epicanthic fold, and without high cheek bones. Chinese sources indicate that among the Yüeh-chih there were even persons with red hair and blue eyes.¹¹

THE KUSHANS BEFORE THEIR ENTRY INTO INDIA

Based almost entirely upon Chinese sources,¹² the history of the Kushans (or better, the Yüeh-chih) before their arrival in India can be divided into three periods: nomadic wandering, settlement in Bactria, and unification and aggrandizement.

THE NOMADIC PERIOD

✓ [The Yüeh-chih are first mentioned in recorded history as nomads who, early in the second century B.C., "moved along with their herds" in a district between Tun-huang and Mount Ch'i-lien, northwest of the modern Chinese province of Kansu, on the southeast fringe of the Gobi Desert. In a prolonged series of battles they contested lands with the Hsiung-nu tribe (frequently considered Huns), who finally defeated and drove them westward. The exodus may have begun about 165 B.C. However, a part of the horde split off from the main body and moved to the southwest, where they settled in the Richtofen Mountain region along the northeast fringe of the Tibetan plateau. Therefore the Chinese sources consistently distinguish between these two groups: the Ta (Great) Yüeh-chih and the Hsiao (Lesser) Yüeh-chih of the Tarim basin (*Ch'ien Han-shu* 96a.114b).]

✓ [After they left the Chinese frontier but before they arrived in the Oxus region, the Yüeh-chih fought with two other confederations. One was the Sai people, a very diverse group, some part of which the Yüeh-chih defeated and drove south to Ki-pin, a region not yet identified.¹³ The Yüeh-chih then occupied the Sai lands in the valley of the Ili River and on the banks of Lake Issik-Kul. The Sai have been identified by some scholars as the Sakas who settled in the Swāt Valley and Gandhāra before the beginning of the Christian Era (see Chapter V).¹⁴]

✓ [In the Ili basin the Yüeh-chih fought also with the Wu-sun, whom they first defeated but who in turn conquered the Yüeh-chih and drove them from the region further west. This second defeat of the Yüeh-chih occurred about 160 B.C. or thereafter.¹⁵]

SETTLEMENT IN THE OXUS REGION

✓ [The exodus of the Yüeh-chih ended when, having passed through Ferghāna, they reached the Oxus region and the more developed urban states of Central Asia: Bactria and Khwārezm.] About 129 B.C., the Chinese General Chang-ch'ien visited the Yüeh-chih and reported that they dwelled (still following nomadic customs) north of the Oxus but held Bactria in subjugation. Most scholars believe that the Yüeh-chih had arrived there not long before Chang-ch'ien's visit—that is, [about 135 B.C.—and that sometime later they moved across the river and occupied Bactria itself.¹⁶] However, they could not have been alone in this occupation. Classical Western sources indicate that Bactria was attacked and conquered by as many as four peoples: the Τοχαροι, Ασιοι, Πασιανοι, and Σακαρανλοι, of whom we should probably recognize the Yüeh-chih among the first and possibly also the second.¹⁷

The details of this settlement in Bactria are sketchy, but it must have

been of the greatest importance in the progressive adoption by the Yüeh-chih of complex modes of commercial and urban civilization established by the Hellenic kingdoms of the Indo-Greeks. The most tangible evidence of this process is the use of the Greek alphabet and possibly the language of the region by the Yüeh-chih, as suggested by the lengthy inscription from Surkh Kotal of the second century A.D.

[The nation is recorded as having had a population of 400,000, divided into five principalities ruled by five distinct chiefs] who were called (in Chinese) Hsi-hou, which seems to have been a transcription of Yavuga or Yavua (Greek $\lambda\alpha\omicron\omicron\gamma$), a Turkish title occurring on the oldest designated Kushan coins.¹⁸ This title was probably one of secondary political power; although there is record of a fortified capital city, Lan-shih, there is no record of a person wielding supreme power there.¹⁹

CREATION OF THE KUSHAN EMPIRE

After having dwelled in Bactria for about a hundred years, the Yüeh-chih came under the domination of one of the five constituent chiefs, the prince of the Kuei-shuang, who attacked and destroyed the other four divisions, became a king, and gave his clan or dynastic name to the nation as a whole.²⁰ If 135 B.C. is assumed to be an approximate mean date for the entry of the Kushans into the Oxus region, this unification under the Kuei-shuang-wang must not have occurred before 35 B.C. How long after that date it occurred is not at all clear, and at this point Kushan chronology becomes more controversial. However, in the light of later developments, I see no reason to discredit the year 35 B.C. as a rough dating for these events.

This was the onset of the third pre-Indian phase of the history of the Kushan nation—that of unification as a kingdom and aggrandizement into the Pa.opamisadae and beyond to the southeast, the creation of an imperial status, the minting of increasingly ambitious coinage. [The *Hou Han-shu* 118.9a) records that the prince of the Kuei-shuang-wang then invaded An-hsi (Parthia or parts of the Indo-Parthian realm in Afghanistan), captured the district of Kao-fu (possibly Kabul), and destroyed P'u-ta (possibly a district in central Afghanistan) and Ki-pin (identity uncertain—possibly Gandhāra and the lower Swāt Valley) before he died at the age of eighty.]

KUJULA KADPHISES

The man who engineered the policy of unification is called Ch'iu-chiu-chuch in the Chinese sources. It is also generally agreed that this must be the person denoted on the early Kushan copper coins as $\text{KADAPHE}\Sigma$, KADPHIZOY . . . in Greek, as Kujula Kadaphasa (or the like) in Kharoshthī. This was the begin-

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ning of Kushan dynastic history as such, the point where numismatic evidence and the Chinese annals supplement and confirm each other.²¹ As an indication of how cloudy the chronological picture has become, competent authorities vary by as much as seventy-five years in their estimates of the dates of crucial events of the period, such as the capture of Kabul and Taxila by the Kushans.

KUJULA'S COINAGE

Although three or four inscriptions may refer to Kujula, none is completely certain, and his coins become all-important in establishing the character of his rule. Although he may have been responsible for minting some of the posthumous silver tetradrachms of Hermaeus, his own coinage is almost entirely in copper and of approximately six types.*

TYPE I. Hermaeus and Herakles. Coins 1, 2, 3.

Obv. Diademed bust portrait of the Indo-Greek King Hermaeus to r.

Greek legend: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΣΥ//ΕΡΜΑΙΟΥ

Rev. Herakles facing. Lion's skin on l. arm, club resting on ground.

Kharoshthi legend: Kujula Kasasa [or Karasa] Kushana yavugasa
dhramathidasa [Kujula Kasa?, the Kushan Yabgu, Steadfast in the
Law].

A variant (Coin 3) retains the obverse portrait of Hermaeus but bears the extremely corrupt legend: ΚΟΖΟΥΛΟΥ//ΚΑΔΦΙΖΟΥ ΚΟΡΣΟΛΟΥ. On the reverse is added a Kharoshthi letter in the field—sam, bu, or pa—a feature which is repeated in a later phase of Kushan coinage, probably to indicate a subdivision of authority (also in Types II, III, and IV of Kujula).

That Kujula should have apparently issued a joint coin with one of the last known Indo-Greek princes, the final seat of whose power was probably in Kabul, has been a source of much speculation, because this could be a basic junction point in the historical pattern. It was at first assumed that the two kings ruled together, but this assumption has been shown to be incorrect on several grounds,²² the chief of which is an explicit statement with the ring of authenticity in the *Hou Han-shu* (118.9a): "Kao-fu [most likely Kabul] was never dependent on the Yüeh-chih, and it is therefore a mistake of the Han book [the *Ch'ien Han-shu*] when it includes it [in the lands of] the five hsi-hou. Later, it fell under the dependency of An-hsi [the Arsacids or some branch of the Parthians], and it was when the Yüeh-chih triumphed over An-hsi that they for the first time took Kao-fu."²³

* I must point out that this and the following arrangements of Kushan coins into "types" and "groups" are made from the viewpoint of dynastic history and coin symbolism rather than from such strict bases of scientific numismology as metrology, a study of dies, and mint centers. References to monograms by number are to those shown in Text Figure 7, p. 69.

It seems possible that certain Hermaeus-type coins were minted, after Hermaeus' death, by Parthian successors in the Kabul region, the coinage becoming increasingly debased in metal and barbarous in style; some of it was issued in copper, and thus the transition to the copper types of Kujula is not difficult to account for.²⁴ The date of the passing of Hermaeus himself is yet another problem. However, the evidence of hoards of coins from Kundūz and the Chārsadda area throw some light on the matter, albeit negatively, because no coin of Hermaeus of good style has been found together with those of either the Indo-Parthians or the Sakas; thus, it is possible that his death preceded the Saka invasions, in the first half of the first century B.C.²⁵

TYPE II. Head of "Augustus." Coins 4, 5.

Obv. Diademed Roman-style male head to r.

Legend: ²⁶ XOPANEY ZAOOY KOZOAA KAAΔAΦEΣ

Rev. Male dressed in Indo-Scythian costume seated on curule to r.

Mon. 1.

Kharoshthi legend: Kuyula Kaphsasa sacaḍhramathitasa Khushanasa
yauasa [Kujula Kaphises, Steadfast in the True Law, the Kushan
Yabgu].

Unquestionably, the obverse male portrait head has been taken from Roman coinage; the consensus is that Augustus was the prototype. However, some scholars have recognized Tiberius or even Caius or Lucius (Augustus' grandsons), and Allan has suggested that the prototype may have been a coin of Claudius. These points are obviously important from a chronological point of view.²⁷ Although I feel that the Augustan prototype is by far the most likely, the style and form of the portrait are so generalized that there can be no precise identification of its Roman origin. Nonetheless, as Rowland points out, this is a patent example of Roman influence in the heart of Central Asia, the first of a series of such in Kushan numismatics. MacDowell shows that even the weight of the coin was adjusted to that of the Roman silver denarius.²⁸

The full-length figure seated on a curule on the reverse of these coins is probably Kujula Kadphises, wearing full trousers, high, pointed hat, and boots, and carrying a sword (Text Figure 1). Again, there are Roman examples of somewhat the same motif.²⁹ In the coin symbolism of the ancient world, the depiction of the full figure of a prince on his coins is considered a sign of the heightened status of the ruler. This did not occur in the Greek coinage of Bactria and India, in which the ruler was generally shown in a profile bust portrait (for example, Coins 263-266), his facial features and personality clearly revealed.³⁰ In Roman or Kushan coinage, when the entire body of the ruler was represented, his individuality was diminished; he was depersonalized and made a more remote and hieratic figure. The same symbolic process took

their own portraits, retained the Hellenic convention of the bust seen in profile was shown full figure on the reverse of the coins of his descendants who, in place in Parthian Iran, where Arsakes, the deified founder of the Arsacid line,

(for example, Coins 294-295). A few full-length ruler portraits also appear among the coins of the Śakas, the Indo-Scythian predecessors of the Kushans

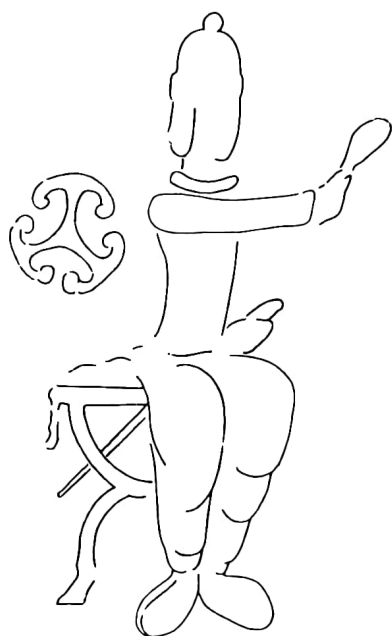


Fig. 1. Seated prince. Kujula Kadphises coin type III.

in northern India—those of Maues and Azes I. (Coin 271)³¹ Worn and indistinct as they are, these coins are symptomatic of revolutionary changes in the concept of kingship (discussed in Chapter VIII) which greatly affected the social and artistic life of the region.³²

TYPE III. Seated king and Zeus. Coin 6.

Obv. Standing deity to r., possibly Zeus.

Fragments of Greek legend illegible

Kharoshthi akshara pu

Rev. Male seated figure, cross-legged position.

Kharoshthi legend reconstructed: Kuyula Kadaphasa Khushanasa.

This is an extremely rare type; however, seventy-eight specimens were found at Sirkap (Taxila), where they must have been minted.⁸⁸ This seated male figure is clearly in the tradition of the Maues-Azes I seated royal portraits.

TYPE IV. Bull and camel. Coin 7.

Obv. Bull standing to r.

Illegible Greek legend.

Mon. 3 above.

Rev. Two-humped camel to r.

Kharoshthi legend: Maharajasa rajadirajasa Kayala Kara Kapasa.⁸⁴

This is the only appearance of imperial epithets on coins positively attributed to Kujula. These animal types are distinctly within the coinage tradition of the region. As early as Heliokles II and Apollodotus, square coppers and round silver coins were minted with an elephant and bull; the types continued through Maues, Azes, and Azilises (for example, Coin 277).⁸⁵ Kujula's innovation, however, consisted in introducing the camel as an independent type. Previously it had appeared, being ridden by Azes I, as a vehicle of conquest (Coin 272).

TYPE V. "Macedonian Soldier." Coins 8, 9.

Obv. Bust of king with helmet to r.

Greek legend: ΚΟΖΟΥΑΟ ΚΑ . . . ΚΟΡΣΑΝ.

Rev. Soldier with spear and shield to r.

Kharoshthi legend: Kuyula Kasasa Kushana Yavusa.

This "Macedonian Soldier" type is exceedingly rare.⁸⁶ The helmet device appears in Kanishka's coins (Type IIIa, below) and on the image of the deity MANAOBAGO (Coins 96, 98) on the coins of Huvishka.

TYPE VI. Bust of king. Coins 10, 11.

Obv. Bust of king to l. wearing low conical headdress, diadem, and ear flap. King bearded.

Illegible Greek legend.

Rev. Winged Nike to l. holding wreath and palm branch.

Kharoshthi akshara bhu in r. field.

Kharoshthi legend: . . . maharajasa rajatirajasa Kushanasa [yavugasa?].

This extremely rare silver coin has been found only at Sirkap. Its identity with Kujula is not certain, although the title Kushanasa yavugasa seems to give little other choice. It is strange that the ranks yavuga and rajatiraja should belong to the same person. More than any other coin attributed to Kujula, this belongs within the stylistic ambient of developed Kushan coinage; yet for the Nike figure, we must turn back to the coins of the Sakas and Indo-Parthians for a suitable prototype (Coins 267, 280).

Similarly, Ghirshman uncovered at Begram, in the "New City," five silver drachmas in the Parthian style.³⁷ Each was from a different mold, but they were similar withal.

Obv. Bust of king to l. surrounded by circle of dots. Has short beard and heavy Parthian hair bun.

Inscription, perhaps overstrike, in Kharoshthi: Ku ju.

Rev. Entirely overstrike. Barbarous imitation of regular Arsacid motif of seated prince in profile.

Inscription dubiously read as: OZOΛΛ KA . . . ΔΑΠΛΑ.

Mon.: A.

The Parthian coins which were here overstruck seemed to Ghirshman to be those of Pacorus II (A.D. 78–109), his most cogent argument being the monogram, which is common on Pacorus' coins. This fits Ghirshman's theories about chronology; however, the monogram does occur also, if less often, on the coins of Phraates IV (27–2 B.C.), which are also stylistically similar to these found at Begram.³⁸

EPIGRAPHIC EVIDENCE

There is no direct epigraphic reference to Kujula. In an inscription of the second century from Mathurā, the epithet "Steadfast in the True Law" was carved after the name (now lost) of a Kushan king (see Chapter VI). This epithet is also used on Kujula's coins; thus he might have been mentioned here, although this was long after his death. Three other inscriptions have been associated with his lifetime. The first is a key document of North Indian history, the inscription from Takht-i-Bāhī which gives the name of the famous Indo-Parthian Prince Gondophares. It is a dedicatory plaque of a Buddhist chapel, dated both in the year 26 of Gondophares' reign and the year 103 of an unknown era.³⁹ In its last line appears the name of the Erjhuṇa Kapa (Erjhuṇa being an Indo-Scythian title for prince).⁴⁰ Because all evidence indicates that the Kushans quickly succeeded the Indo-Parthian dynasty of Gondophares in the area, it is thought that the Erjhuṇa Kapa might possibly refer to Kujula Kadphises and that the inscription might come from the time of the transition of power. The likelihood of this is, however, not strong.

From Panjtār in the Peshāwar district comes a dedicatory stone marking the gift of two trees by an unknown scion of the Urumuṇa family in the year 122 of the Mahārāja Gushaṇa.⁴¹ Finally, one of the most important of all the Kharoshthi inscriptions, the Taxila Silver Scroll from the Dharmarājikā Stūpa, records the dedication of relics there by a man from Balkh or Bactria in the year 136 of the Mahārāja rājātirāja devaputra Kushaṇa.⁴²

These three inscriptions of the years 103, 122, and 136 seem to comprise

a coherent chronological sequence, but their relationship to any known Kushan kings is a matter of speculation only (see Appendix I).

HERAOS, HYRKODES, PHSEIGACHARIS

A small group of rare coins seem to belong to the period of the rise of the Kushan dynasty and to have an undetermined relationship with it. The royal names involved are Heraos (or Miaos) (Coin 12), Hyrkodes (Coin 13), and Phseigacharis.⁴³ Their coins are grouped because of types and fabric, the most salient characteristic being the obverse bust portrait of a prince facing right. The prince is mustached, has an aquiline nose and heavy jowls, wears a diadem, and has locks of long hair falling over his ear. These features appear on the coins of the Mahākshatrapa Rājūvula (Coin 284), and also later on the coins of the Western Kshatrapas (Coin 283). Strangely enough, these distinctive facial traits are also found in the statues of donors, of the Royal Bodhisattvas and other divinities in Gandhāran sculpture (Figures 62, 95). Perhaps this was an ideal type of princely figure in the Indo-Iranian border lands.

These coins thus seem to be of considerable historical significance, but there are few associated data; even the connection with the Kushans is tenuous. On the coins of Heraos, which are invariably worn smooth or imperfectly struck, the term KOSHANOS seems to follow his partly illegible name; interestingly, his epithets include TYPANNOYNTOS (meaning, presumably, "under the rule of"). There also appears a word which has been variously read as SAKA or SANAB. The reverse type is that of an equestrian king followed by the flying figure of Nike, a type also employed by the Indo-Parthian Prince Gondophares.

The Heraos coins have been the object of much speculation; tentatively the prince is considered a predecessor, even the father, of Kujula Kadphises. Another element held in common by this group of coins and those of the Kushans is the presence on the reverses of the HYRKODES coins of a small standing male figure, facing to the front, holding a spear, his left hand on his hip. He has flaming shoulders, a feature of Kushan royal portraits, and he closely resembles the Kushan deity Pharro (Coin 177; see Chapter III).⁴⁴

VIMA KADPHISES

The successor of Kujula Kara Kadphises, according to the *Hou Han-shu* (118.9a), was Yen-kao-chen, who is credited with the destruction of T'ien-chu (India) and the appointment of a general there to supervise and govern. This Yen-kao-chen is usually identified as a ruler who issued coins with the name in Greek ΟΟΗΜΟ and in Kharoshthī as Vima Kaṭhphiśa or Kapisha, coins

which testify to the élan of a conquistador in their symbols of triumph and their imperious, aggressive style. Something of this spirit also motivates the great portrait of this prince found at Mathurā (Figure 1), seated in a most hieratic, authoritarian manner.

There has been some controversy concerning one translation of the Later Han Annals to the effect that Vima again conquered India, as though the Kushan victory were a reconquest.⁴⁵ Although scholars take this point with varying degrees of seriousness, it has been used to demonstrate among other things that a King Kanishka ruled in India before Vima and that the Kushans took India from the Parthians, who had taken it from the Sakas; thus the Kushans and Sakas were such close kinsmen that the Kushans saw this as a reconquest.⁴⁶

SOTER MEGAS

Similarly, a puzzle has grown out of the clear reference in the *Hou Han-shu* stating that after the destruction of T'ien-chu, Yen-kao-chen left a general to govern. The identification of this general is a moot point, the chief temptation being to assign to him the vast and mysterious coinage which carries no royal name but only the epithet ΣΜΘΡ ΜΕΓΑΣ, the Great Savior (Coins 14, 15, 16). These coins, all in copper, are found throughout a region stretching from Mathurā to Peshāwar and into Russian Turkestan in such large numbers and with local issues that they alone testify to a long and powerful reign. It seems inconceivable that there should be no other evidence of this ruler whose coin types bear close relationship to the Kushan and Indo-Parthian and Saka issues.⁴⁷

A challenging contribution to this unsolved problem has been that of Roman Ghirshman, who has published an illustration of a unique silver decadrachm in the collection of Azis Beglou, Teheran, the obverse of which bears a portrait of Vima identified by a corrupt Greek legend.⁴⁸ On the reverse is a standing prince, identified in Greek as King Kanishka, holding a lance, and behind him is the same monogram that appears on the coins of Soter Megas. Upon this coin's evidence and that of the find spots of Soter Megas' coins in Central Asia, Ghirshman has concluded that Kanishka, most famous of the Kushan kings, minted under that title before he became emperor and that he was Vima's viceroy. This conclusion has not won wide acceptance;⁴⁹ much more in harmony with the pattern of relationships of the coin types and find spots is David W. MacDowall's idea that the coins of Soter Megas followed directly those of Gondophares and Sasan and preceded those of Vima.⁵⁰ But whoever he was, Soter Megas probably belonged to the early phase of the Kushan intrusion into India when the seat of power was still primarily in Bactria.

EPIGRAPHIC REFERENCES

Only three or four epigraphs are thought to mention, or allude to, Vima, and each is more or less problematic. The first is the inscription on the presumed portrait of this king at Mathurā (Figure 1; see Chapter VI). The second is a rock inscription at Khalatse, near Ladakh near the Tibet-Kashmir border, dated in the year 184 or 187 of an unknown era.⁶¹ The third is the previously mentioned Panjtār epigraph of the year 122, associated primarily with Kujula but occasionally with Vima as well.⁶² Finally, Vima may be referred to inferentially in the epigraph marking the renovation of the Kushan imperial portrait shrine at Māt during the reign of the Emperor Huvishka (see Chapter VI). The shrine is described as being that of Huvishka's grandfather, who in all likelihood was Vima. It is most unfortunate that this inscription is so badly shattered, because there may once have been a reference in it to Kujula Kadphises as well. If so, it might have clarified the relationship of Vima to his predecessor, because there is a possibility that Vima had been a brother of Kujula. Basham has presented this notion, finding the custom of fraternal succession reflected in the records of the Śakas and Kshatrapas.⁶³ If Vima had indeed been the younger brother of Kujula, the name Kadphises held in common might be interpreted as expressing this relationship.

VIMA'S GOLD COINAGE

There are, on the whole, such radical differences in material and style between the coins of Vima and those of Kujula that the direct succession from one king to the other would seem improbable if it were not attested by other sources. The coins of Vima have accomplished and powerful images of the king which are among the most expressive statements of Kushan art in any medium. These must be contrasted with the hesitant, sometimes blundered, sometimes barbarous imagery of Kujula's coins, with the exception of the four unique silver ones found at Taxila which indeed seem to form a numismatic transition between the two men (Coins 10, 11).

Under Vima a momentous innovation occurred: the introduction of a regular gold coinage into this region. Not since the occasional issues of the Greco-Bactrian kings had gold been minted there, silver being the chief metal for valuable coins.⁶⁴ After Vima the Kushans minted basically in gold and copper. A few pieces of Kushan silver occur—mint trial pieces, experimental issues, or forgeries—but no major issues in that metal at all.⁶⁵ The use of gold gave to the coins of the Kushans the highest possible value and prestige. It was *prima facie* proof of the economic power of the throne and a direct product of the great commercial prosperity on which the flowering of the arts in the empire was based.⁶⁶

The question of the weight standard used for these coins has played a large role in discussions of Kushan history, since it offers important insights into matters of chronology and the economic relations between the Kushan and Roman states.⁵⁷ One argument for an "early" dating of the Kushan dynasty has been the apparent relationship of the Kushan standard to that of Augustus early in his reign. A similar argument for a "later" dating has been that these aurei of Vima are said to conform to a weight standard adopted by Titus.⁵⁸

The relationship of the Kushan to the Roman standard is truly puzzling. The Kushan standard remained fixed throughout the life of the dynasty at about 123.2 English grains (about 8.0 grams) as a rough average; the Roman standard was rarely stable, but rather followed a descending scale of weights from the gold issues of Caesar, when the aurei averaged 133.9 grains, to the Triumvirate, when they averaged 126.7, to the beginning of Augustus' reign, when they averaged 120.7 grains (although certain of the heavy examples reach 122.5 or even 122.9 grains).⁵⁹ Thereafter the weight dropped slowly until the radical Neronian monetary reforms, when it was reduced to 114 grains.⁶⁰

Chapter II
General Features

Thus if there was any fixed relationship of Kushan to Roman standards, it was not a permanent one, because the Kushan money did not follow the Roman in the loss of substance though it did in loss of gold content, the Kushan coins becoming progressively more debased.⁶¹ Moreover, it is impossible to find a time when the Roman standard was really fixed at 123 or 124 grains. By the simple logic of the descending rate of the Roman specie, this would have occurred toward the end of the Triumvirate or the beginning of Augustus' reign. Indeed, a few heavy early Augustan pieces approach the average of the Kushan, although the two averages were about two or more grains apart. Such a fine distinction may not have been important in antiquity, but the point is that no one has been able to date the first gold coins of Vima in the last quarter of the first century B.C.

Cunningham worked out an elaborate explanation of the weight of the Kushan gold standard which attempts to demonstrate that it was fixed by the internal economics of the Kushanshahr, chiefly the ratio of its weight to that of the silver coinage of the precursors of the Kushans.⁶² Cunningham suggested a sequence of two "inflationary" steps in which the value of gold was increased in relationship to that of silver, from the rare gold issues of Diodotus and Euthydemus on the Attic standard to the reduced standard for silver used by the Greek princes ruling east of the Hindu Kush and then a further inflation of the value of gold (in relation to silver) under the Kushans.

In the Attic standard of the Greco-Bactrians, the silver-gold ratio had been 10:1; with the reduced standard for most Indo-Greek coinage, it was 11:1; with the Kushans, it became 12:1. It is logical to think that the Kushan standard was in some major way governed by internal regional economics, although the standards of the Roman Empire, with which the Kushans had di-

rect trade relations, must also have been taken into account. The Kushan weight standard for gold coins was, in principle, higher than that of the Romans, and the Kushans minted denominations which were unknown or rare in the Roman Empire: a large double-dinar and a small quarter-dinar.⁶⁵

The source of the great quantity of Kushan gold has been a mystery. India, in spite of Herodotus' and Hsüan-tsang's tales of gold-mining ants, has never been a major producer of the metal. It is possible that the Kushans received gold from the former Scythian sources in Siberia, but this is unlikely since the regions were not under Kushan control and it is difficult to imagine how the Kushans paid for the raw metal. The Arabian Peninsula has been suggested;⁶⁶ but a more probable source is Rome itself, which poured a huge quantity of specie into "India, Seres, and Arabia . . ." according to Pliny, writing about A.D. 75, to the value of one hundred million sesterces a year in payment for luxury products of the East—pepper, muslin, silks, gems—"so dearly do we pay for our luxuries and our women."⁶⁶ Roman gold has been found in large quantities in hoards in South India, principally along the land route joining the Malabar and Coromandel coasts and the Coimbatore Gap.⁶⁶ Much of the gold was probably exported to India to be spent as bullion, because the successive and steady devaluations of the Roman denarius at the source had increased its value as bullion as opposed to its value as currency. The same situation was true for the export of Roman silver denarii.⁶⁷

The finds of Roman gold in India yield plentiful examples of money minted until the time of the Neronian reform of A.D. 63, when the specie was radically devalued and after which restrictions at home rather limited its export. Trade, however, went on unabated after the reform; pre-reform coins continued in use in the East as bullion; barter became more prevalent; and, interestingly, some special coins were minted for the Indian trade with the old standards and types of Augustus and Tiberius, because they were preferred by the Indians.⁶⁸

Much of the prosperity of the Kushan Empire must have rested on its trade with the West, for its merchants served as middlemen taking cargoes coming from China when they entered the Kushanshahr from the Tarim basin. The cargoes were carried through Bactria and overland through Iran, or across the Paropamisadae to the upper Indus, where either they were floated on rafts down to the mouth of the river or they continued overland via Mathurā and Ujjayini to Barygaza and other ports on the west coast. From there the goods went either to the head of the Persian Gulf to Characene or to Roman stations in the Red Sea for transshipment to the ultimate consumers in Alexandria, Rome, or other Western centers.⁶⁹

Trade in luxury goods flowed in an easterly direction as well, as shown by the princely treasure of Begiani or the finds of Roman pottery, bulk wine vessels, and bronze figurines in South India. The balance of trade was, how-

ever, largely in the favor of the East—so at least Pliny complains—and the rarity of Kushan gold coins outside the empire so testifies as well.⁷⁰

Now many scholars remark the rarity of finds of Roman coins within the Kushanshahr itself when compared with their abundance in South India. Only as chance strays or as stūpa deposits have they come to light in the north. No major hoard is recorded. This fact should not be interpreted as contradicting the other evidence of extensive trade but rather as indicating the probable source of Kushan gold for coinage. The contemporary Roman coins were all of a lower weight standard, and were probably melted and recast as new blanks at the Kushan standard along with gold from other sources.⁷¹ Along this same line of reasoning, the strange absence of Roman silver coinage on the upper parts of the west coast of India can be explained as the result of its reminting by the Andhras and Śakas, notably Nahapāna.

Wheeler has observed that many of the Roman denarii found in South India, and dating from the time of Claudius through Hadrian, have been defaced by a cut across the imperial visage.⁷² He maintains that this was done under the authority of the Kushans, whose coinage was in competition with that of the Romans in the south and who did not want the lighter Roman coins to circulate at a face value equal to their own. This seems to be a valid explanation of the defacement, but must the act be attributed to Kushan authority? It is most unlikely that the Kushan state extended below the Vindhya Mountains, and their coins are not plentiful in the south.

VIMA'S COIN TYPES

Although there is no way to be certain that the profile images of this king were descriptive portraits, a distinct characterization emerges from them of a heavy-set, aged man with a large nose, a wart on his left cheek, and a spade-shaped beard with mustache—a most formidable person. There is little variation in these portraits, all seeming to be roughly of the same age level in contrast to the apparent aging of the royal visages on Huvishka's coins. On the reverses, there is but one deity or his symbols, not labeled but identified by analogy with later Kushan coins as Śiva (see Chapter III).

TYPE I. Elephant rider. Coin 17.

Obv. King seated frontally on back of elephant walking to the l. King sits on throne-like howdah, holds long staff in his r. hand. Bearded head is in profile; wears a tall rounded hat.

Greek legend from l:00: BACIAEYC BACIAEWN CWTHP METAC
OOHMO KAAΦICHC

Mon. in field to r. No. 4.

Rev. Śiva and Nandi,

Karoshthi legend: Maharajasa rajadirajasa sarvloga īśvarasa

mahisvarasa Vima Kathphisa tradara (Great King, the King of Kings, Lord of the World, the Great Lord, Vima Kathphisa, the Saviour).

Mon. in field to l. No. 3.

This specimen was found at Benares,⁷³ and most probably celebrated imperial triumph in India, as expressed by the imperious epithets. The Indian scholar S. K. Dikshit denies this interpretation as naïve, but does not explain how otherwise the equestrian royal portraits of Indo-Scythians in India could have been supplanted by this type of a king riding the greatest of the Indian martial beasts.⁷⁴

TYPE II. Biga. Coin 18.

Obv. King in biga to r. shown in profile. Bearded, diademed, wears tall rounded hat, carries club in r. hand. Before him diminutive charioteer with whip, also in profile.

Greek legend from l:00: BACIAEYC OOHM//O KAAΦICHC.

Rev. Siva alone, type a.

Legend as in Type I above.

Mons. 3 and 4.

This type is clearly derived from a Roman source and, like the Elephant Rider Type above, celebrates triumph.⁷⁵ Similarly, it presents the king large in proportion to the size of the biga, giving him hieratic emphasis in scale.

TYPE III. Enthroned king. Coin 19.

Obv. Bearded king in tall rounded helmet with bill, seated frontally on low couch, head turned to l., feet on low stool. Flames emanate from shoulders; thunderbolt or twig in r. hand. Large knobbed club in field to r.

Greek legend from l:00, as in Type II.

Mon. 4.

Rev. Siva type a. Legend as in Type I above.

Mon. 3.

This coin and the two following types constitute clear examples of the expressive powers of distinctly Kushan art. The forcefulness of the body seen *en face*, with its voluminous trousers and belly and oversized head, outweighs any idealization which might accrue to the profile view of the head. The Kushans were never able to escape from the conventional profile portrait on their coins, although otherwise they freely adopted the frontal mode of presentation. This is an image of barbarous presence and majesty.

TYPE IV. King seated cross-legged. Coin 20.

Obv. King seated cross-legged on rocky prominence or cloud. Head in profile to r. wearing tall helmet with crest ornament with fillets fluttering behind the head. Medium-sized club in l. hand.

Greek legend from 1:00 as in Type II above.

Mon. 4.

Rev. Siva type a.

Mon. 3.

TYPE V. Bust portrait with high helmet. Coins 21, 22.

Obv. Bust portrait of bearded king facing l. Wears high, rounded hat of Types I and II. R. hand holds small, knurled club, l. hand holds hilt of sword or *añkuśa*. Flaming shoulders. Body emerges from rock or cloudlike shapes. (Note occasional absence of flaming shoulders.)

Mon. 4 in field.

TYPE Va. Coins 23, 24.

Obv. Variant of Type II above except that king faces r., wears himation held by clasp on r. shoulder. L. hand invisible. Closely resembles inaugural issues of Kanishka.⁷⁰

Legend as in Type II, but begins at 7:00.

Rev. As in Types I and II.

TYPE VI. Bust portrait with low cap and circlet. Coin 25.

Obv. As in Type V above, except king wears circlet around cap, circlet bearing knob or bun at center of forehead, similar perhaps to that worn by devotees shown in Shotorak reliefs (Figure 112) or the Kubera-Pāñcika figure from Takal (Figure 62).

Rev. As in Type II.

TYPE VIa. Coin 26.

Obv. As in Type VI above, except that king faces r. and wears himation joined by clasp at r. shoulder.

TYPE VII. Portrait in square. Coin 27.

Obv. Profile of king to l. set in distinctive square frame. King holds twig or branch (? *baresma*); headdress as in Type VI, and ends of diadem overlap frame.

Legend from 1:00: BACIAEYC OOH//MO KAΔΦ . . .

Mon., blundered version of 4.

Rev. As in Type III above.

TYPE VIIa. Coin 28.

Obv. Profile of king to r. Fingers on lower edge of square. Quarter-dinar only; otherwise similar to Type VII.

Rev. Trident emblem of Siva placed into kind of stand or holder.

Kharoshthi legend: Maharaja rajadiraja Vima Kapiśasa.

Flanked by mons. 3 and 4.

At first glance, this seems to be a portrait set into a simple incuse square. However, the diadem in one type and the fingers in the other establish the king's body behind a window. This brings to mind a palace ceremony among

the Mughals in which the emperor revealed only his face through a small window to a crowd of people.⁷⁷

TYPE VIII. King standing at altar. Coin 29.

Obv. King standing frontally, head in profile to l., r. hand held over small altar. Wears heavy topcoat with rolled lapels held with double clasp at chest, and worn over a tunic held at waist by belt. Heavily bearded, wears high rounded cap with crest ornament and fillet. In field to r. is large club with knobbed handle, to l. trident halberd.

Mon. 4 in field to r.

Greek legend from 1:00 as in Type I above.

Rev. Siva and Nandi as in Type III above.



Fig. 2. Vima Kadphises standing at altar. From coin 29.

This coin type appears only in copper, except for one example of silver in the British Museum which may have been a mint trial piece (Gardner, *BMC*, Pl. XXV.11). It introduces into Kushan coinage a motif which remains a basic theme of the royal portrait into later Kushan and even Guptan times—that of the king sacrificing at a small round fire altar. This is occasionally referred to as a Zoroastrian or Mazdean theme, as it may well be, because it bears a distinct resemblance to that Parthian period bas-relief upon a boulder near the Darius relief at Bisutūn (Figure 129) and to similar ones at Tang-i-Sarwak.⁷⁸ But, as with so many of the “Iranian” elements of Kushan symbolism, the factor is probably that of a revamping or reinforcement of ancient Indo-Iranian beliefs. In Vedic and Brahmanical literature, sacrifice over a flame is an essential act of worship; burnt offerings appear on the pedestals of Gandhāran Buddhist carvings (Figure 92; Ingholt no. 232, 284). Thus the motif on Kushan coins, even if inspired by Parthian symbolism, was entirely compatible with Indian customs.

This coin portrait of Vima Kadphises closely resembles the portrait in

stone of Kanishka at Mathurā (Figure 2). It is the most direct prototype for that monumental image yet found, and helps demonstrate a close correspondence between the art of the dynastic shrines of Mathurā or Surkh Kotal and the symbolic spirit of the Kushan coins (see Chapter VI).

II. KANISHKA: LEGENDS AND IMPERIUM

IN THE middle of the nineteenth century the pioneer students of this epoch in Asian history began to be aware of a ruler who, although he was "a personage who as yet scarcely figures at all in the histories intended for the general reader . . . it is certain that he was one of the greatest sovereigns that ever held sway in Upper India."¹ This ruler was Kanishka, the third king to issue coins whose title includes the dynastic name KOSHAHO. Indeed, Kanishka is a major figure of Asian history, perhaps of the stature of Akbar or Shāh Rukh or Kublai Khan—men who consolidated a great new polyglot empire and helped release the creative energies of their subjects—but the unified record of Kanishka has been lost for centuries and the historical realities of his rule can be only dimly sensed. Kanishka's portrait statue at Mathurā (Figure 2) is one of the most purposeful and vital expressions of the time. Even without its head, this statue can be considered an archetypal symbol of the assertive conqueror with its imperious pose, unmitigated frontality, and massive weapons.

A prime indication of Kanishka's importance is the fact that one moment in his career—most likely his proclamation as emperor—was honored as the beginning of a calendrical system. This is attested by more than 150 dated inscriptions from different parts of the state, covering at least 157 years, with no more than seven years' interval between any two of them—with the exception of a period of uncertain length at the end of Vāsudeva's reign, when possibly a new but coordinate Kushan era began. In terms of the Christian Era, the precise date of the start of this reckoning is still unknown; it is the most crucial and controversial single issue of Kushan studies—the key to the positive chronology of Gandhāran and Mathurā sculpture and to the dynastic history of the empire. The problem is discussed in Appendix I, along with my hy-

pothesis that Kanishka's era may have begun in the first two decades of the second century A.D. Awaiting the demonstrable solution of the problem, it is possible to suggest the following chronology of Kushan kings beginning with Kanishka (see also chart in Appendix III).

Kanishka I rules	1 to 23
Vāsishka rules	24 to 28
Period of Huvishka(s)	28 to 60
Kanishka II appears	41
Vāsudeva I rules	64/67 to 98
A new Kushan dating sequence begins again	$n = (98 + x)$
Kanishka III rules	ca. 5 to 17 + n
Vaskushāṇa (Vāsudeva III?) appears	ca. 22 to 28 + n
Erjhano Yaśaga appears	36 + n

It must be stressed that this chronology is based upon a disproportionately large number of Mathurā inscriptions, many of which have come from one site, the Kāṅkālī Tīlā. The epigraphs from the northwest are far fewer and less coherent than these.

THE KANISHKA LEGENDS

King (or Kings) Kanishka left a deep impression upon the memory of the Buddhist world. Fragments of stories and adventures are scattered throughout a vast range of religious and historical lore—but scattered in a most surprising fashion. For example, there is no mention of Kanishka in the Pāli Canon or in the regular Chinese dynastic histories (Chinese information about the king comes from less positive sources).² No mention of the name is to be found in the Purāṇas, nor has an historical cycle like that of the Aśokāvadāna been preserved. He is mentioned in Tibetan sources in a vague and hazy manner, chiefly as the sponsor of a Buddhist Council in Kashmir; his name appears in a variety of Buddhist Central Asian documents in "Khotanese Saka, Tocharian of Kuci and Agni, Sogdian and Uigur Turkish texts."³ Withal, the name has assumed a legendary aura, and it is possible to sense only in broad outline what the impact of his personality may have been in his own time.

KANISHKA'S SUPERNATURAL POWERS

One of the most cogent of the legends about Kanishka, recorded by Hsüan-tsang, tells how the king emitted smoke and flame from his shoulders in order to subdue an evil nāgarāja.⁴ The Serpent King dwelled in a lake atop the Great Snowy Mountain 200 miles northwest of the royal city of Kāpiśa in Afghanistan. Its heart was filled with hatred, and six times it destroyed a

monastery and stūpa which Kanishka had built at the foot of the mountain. A final test of strength between king and demon ensued; Kanishka summoned forth the fruits of the merits of his former births by which he had become a cakravartin, conqueror of Jambudvīpa, and from his shoulders came smoke and flames, and the nāga fled. This tale has the ring of an authentic myth of regal powers because of the shoulder flames which appear in the coin portraits of the Kushan emperors. This is one of the main elements in the iconography of Kushan kingship (see Chapter VIII).

In similar legends, Kanishka had the power to destroy his enemies from a great distance. The Chinese pilgrim Wang Hsüan-tse⁵ recorded that Kanishka, who ruled in Gandhāra, waged a campaign in the kingdom of South India because he had been given two pieces of cloth of great beauty but which had the handprint of King Sātavāhana (the dynastic name of the Āndhra kings) impressed upon them—an insult. Kanishka vowed to get the hands and feet of the king, and searched for him with his army. The people of the king substituted a golden image while Sātavāhana himself hid in a cavern. Kanishka found the image and cut off the hands and legs, and by the power of his earlier merits the arms and legs of Sātavāhana fell off at the same moment.⁶

The basic form of this tale persisted around Kabul at least as late as A.D. 1000. Alberuni recorded how King Kanik, who had built the great Kanik caitya of Purushāvar, made war on the king of Kanoj because of the same affront, in this instance a footmark on a gift of cloth.⁷ During this war the wily minister of the Indian king led Kanik's army into certain death in the desert, but miraculously Kanik brought water by striking the earth with his spear and at the same moment the hands and feet of the king of Kanoj were cut off, miles away from the spot.

KANISHKA AS A BUDDHIST

An image emerges from various Chinese sources that Kanishka was a second Aśoka, patron of the Buddhist faith and energetic builder of religious works. Art historians have attributed much of the flowering of the Mathurā and Gandhāra schools of Buddhist sculpture to his royal patronage.⁸ However, careful study of the literary sources has shown that the record of Kanishka's piety is not unblemished, to say the least. A Uigur Turkish confession text cites the name of Kanishka in a list of Buddhist sinners who repented—a list which included the celebrated parricide Ajātaśatru.⁹ Upon study of the coins and epigraphs, many scholars have agreed in principle that Kanishka's patronage of the faith must have been essentially politic.¹⁰ Except for the legends, there is little evidence that Kanishka's conversion to Buddhism had been a profound experience, as may have been true with Aśoka. The Buddhist emblems which appear on his coins are, statistically speaking, rare and far out-

numbered by other types. Kanishka may well have been, like Constantine, attracted by a variety of religions and guided as much by the exigencies of politics as by his own spiritual needs.

Nonetheless, Kanishka's name is a major polarizing element for the history of this period in which Buddhism became an international faith. A number of theologians have been associated with him by Church traditions—Aśvaghoṣa, Vasumitra, Pārśva, Saṃgharakṣa, Dharmatrāta, Mātṛiceta, and (indirectly) Nāgārjuna—among them some of the most influential figures of the time. It must be emphasized, however, that these associations cannot be taken at face value, for in the pious, pseudo-historical legends of the faith, the names of great kings were often linked with those of great writers. On the other hand, these authors belong at least to the same cultural and ideological ambient as Kanishka. Their writings provide much of the literary nucleus of the iconology of Buddhist art of the Kushan epoch.

KANISHKA AND THE KASHMIRI ARHAT

Characteristic of the legends about Kanishka is one in which he led his entourage into Kashmir to pay homage to a celebrated arhat, Chih-yeh-to (? Gayata or Jayata), a name which has not yet been found in any other source.¹¹ The Chinese version of the *Samyukta-ratna-piṭaka-sūtra* describes Kanishka musing while en route: "Now I am king, I rule over the world. Among all my people, however, there is no one who will prostrate himself before me in adoration. For I am not a bhadanta [a person worthy of deep respect; usually used for mendicants, but it is an epithet of Gupta kings in their inscriptions]. How will this monk be able to accept my offerings?" When the king arrived in Kashmir, he prostrated himself before the monk and voluntarily subjected himself to a certain indignity and admitted the imperfections of his heart. The arhat then said cryptically, "When the king comes, the path is good; when he leaves, it is as when he came." The king was satisfied, and departed for his own kingdom. At home his followers complained that they had made the long trip in vain and had gained no profit. Whereupon the king of the Yüeh-chih replied that previously he had honored the Buddhist prohibitions, been charitable, decorated the dwellings of monks, constructed viḥāras and stūpas—in these are the merits of those who found a royal race. Now he enjoyed his high calling and his earthly recompense was great; in the life to come he will receive yet more happiness. He interpreted the words of the arhat as meaning that he had followed the road of holy virtue of a king. Whereupon his followers prostrated themselves and begged his pardon, saying that it was by his merits that he had received the right to rule.

Kanishka's great political power is attributed to his understanding of Buddhism, according to a tale preserved in the so-called *Sūtrālamkāra*.¹² The

king wished to visit Kanishkapura (presumably a town he built in Kashmir). En route he encountered a group of 500 beggars who had all been wealthy kings in their former lives. But because they had failed to give alms, had been avaricious and greedy, they had been reborn in this poverty. Kanishka commented that although he was then the master of men, he wished to avoid such a fate in the future and understood the need for charity. Then his minister praised the king for his penetrating intelligence. The minister went on to say that in order to be a great king worthy of the name, one must distinguish the deep meaning of the Law of the Buddha. The king's intellect must surpass that of all others. It was very difficult to possess all the merits centered in a great king, as difficult as it is for a blind turtle in the middle of the ocean to fall into the hole of a floating plank.¹³ Thus, since he had such great advantages, Kanishka must not lose control of his heart and spirit.

THE COUNCIL IN KASHMIR

The report of Hsüan-tsang is the most detailed evidence that Kanishka, as King of Gandhāra, convened a great council of the Buddhist faith in Kashmir "four hundred years after the death of the Buddha," and patterned after the tradition of councils at Rājagṛha or Vaiśālī or Aśoka's at Pāṭaliputra.¹⁴ According to the Chinese pilgrim, Kanishka was deeply pious, frequently consulted the Buddhist sūtras, had a priest enter his palace daily to preach, and often consulted with his adviser Pārśva (or Pārśvika), a revered patriarch mentioned occasionally in the Chinese *Tripitaka*. Being disturbed by conflicting sectarian doctrines, Kanishka had monks of each of the Buddhist schools gather from the four quarters in Kashmir to resolve these conflicts. When their vast numbers had been reduced to 499 arhats, Kanishka said that he was suffering from the heat and humidity and wished to go to his own country or else to Rājagṛha, site of the First Council. He was persuaded to remain in Kashmir, and built a special viḥāra there for the assembly.

The president of the council was a Sarvāstivādin doctor, Vasumitra, a name borne by no less than five men of importance in Indian Buddhist history. Not being an arhat, he was at first refused admission, but by a miracle the devas announced that he would become a Buddha and would actually succeed to Maitreya's throne in the Tushita Paradise (see Chapter IX). Together the five hundred sages produced commentaries on the three piṭakas. Kanishka had these engraved on sheets of red copper, enclosed them in a stone receptacle, and built a stūpa over it. Then, as he started to return to his capital with his army, he fell to his knees and bestowed the entire kingdom of Kashmir upon the brotherhood of monks.

The historical value of this story is suspect. The oldest source dealing with a Kashmir council is the life of Vasubandhu by Paramārtha,¹⁵ which de-

scribes the council as a meeting of monks of both Hinayāna and Mahāyāna persuasions to edit the Abhidharma of the Sarvāstivādin sect. It says that the council summoned the writer Aśvaghosha, and after meeting for twelve years at Jālandhar in the upper Panjāb-Kashmir foothills produced the *Mahāvibhāṣhā*, a gigantic encyclopedia of Sarvāstivādin doctrine as a commentary on the Systematization of Knowledge, the *Jñānaprasthāna* of Kātyāyaniputra. With the authorization of the unnamed king, the council forbade the publication of this work outside Kashmir. The text of the *Mahāvibhāṣhā* itself does not associate the meeting with Kanishka; only the colophon of one of the manuscripts of the life of Vasubandhu does so. The contents of the *Mahāvibhāṣhā* seem generally datable to the third century A.D.¹⁶ By and large, the attribution of a Kashmir council to Kanishka is thought to be a pious fabrication by which Kanishka's biography was given some of the same elements as Aśoka's.¹⁷

KANISHKA AND AŚVAGHOSHA

Through evidence from a number of sources Kanishka is linked with Aśvaghosha, a playwright and poet who came to be revered as a Bodhisattva in Eastern Asia. In the Chinese version of the *Sampradāya nidāna* there is the tale that Aśvaghosha dwelled at the court of the king of Pāṭaliputra, the suzerain lord of eastern India.¹⁸ However, that monarch had been defeated by the Yüeh-chih and was obliged to purchase peace at the price of 900,000 pieces of gold. To relieve himself of that heavy ransom he surrendered to his conqueror a priceless relic, the begging bowl of the Buddha (see Figure 103), a marvelous cock which would not drink water containing live insects, and finally the learned Aśvaghosha. Further, there is testimony that Aśvaghosha was converted to Buddhism by Pārśva, Kanishka's religious adviser, that Kanishka had sought consolation and guidance from him after his bloody war with the Parthian king, and that Aśvaghosha received a miraculous sign while viewing the Kanishka stūpa at Peshāwar.

If these direct connections of the two men seem like pious fabrications, they are impossible to prove or disprove. In any event, Aśvaghosha is an important figure for historians of Indian art of the Kushan period. To his name have been attributed a great number of Buddhist texts, but two major works whose authorship is securely his—the *Saundarananda* and the *Buddhacarita*—were composed as expressions of the poetic and emotional content of the faith rather than as didactic outlines.¹⁹ The *Saundarananda*, for example, treats of the struggle against his sensual passions by Nanda, Śākyamuni's half-brother; its theme was frequently used by the sculptors of Gandhāra and Mathurā. The *Buddhacarita* is a legendary biography of Śākyamuni, conceived

in terms of highly personal responses to the events of the career of the Tathāgata and has numerous parallels in the sculpture of Gandhāra.²⁰

KANISHKA AND THE JAINA STŪPA

A semihumorous tale is found in the so-called *Sūtrālamkāra*. It describes Kanishka returning from his conquest of eastern India, passing through flat country and halting for the night. He visits a large stūpa, thinking it to be a Buddhist monument. He dismounts and, wearing his jeweled imperial hat, prostrates himself in worship. But suddenly the monument breaks into pieces. Kanishka is greatly alarmed until he learns that it is a Jaina stūpa and realizes that it does not merit the homage of so great a monarch—"un âne ne porte pas la même charge qu'un éléphant." The episode ends with an interesting diatribe against the Jains, Kanishka saying to the effect that the nirgranthas should not receive his homage because they are not omniscient.²¹

KANISHKA AND THE IMAGES OF DEVAS

A similar story is preserved in the accounts of the Chinese pilgrim Wang Hsüan-tse, who visited India four times in the middle of the seventh century A.D.²² Kanishka, having been initiated into Buddhism and become an *upāsaka*, once saluted certain statues of devas (not specified) which promptly fell to the earth. He then pointed toward a statue of the Sun God, but the priest feared for the safety of the image. So he placed a small statue of Sākyamuni on the head of Sūrya; when Kanishka saluted, it did not fall. The king discovered the little statue and, overjoyed by the marvelous power of the Buddha, rewarded the priest with the endowment of a village, which was still maintained at the time Wang Hsüan-tse learned the story. The stated moral of the tale is that *upāsakas* should not worship the images of devas, for the sanctity of Buddhism surpasses that of such deities. Yet the implications of the tale are ones familiar to Indian henotheism—that worship of lesser deities is permissible if in principle it is directed through them to superior powers.

THE LETTER TO KANI[SH]KA FROM MĀTRICĒTA

Preserved in Tibetan is a letter addressed presumably to Kanishka, the *Mahārājakaṇikalekha*, written by a Buddhist theologian Mātricēta, author of a number of hymns in Sanskrit. The letter is very much in the pattern of the better-known *Suhṛillekha* (Friendly Epistle) addressed to an unidentified king of the Śātavāhana dynasty in South India by the Mahāyāna theologian Nāgārjuna.²³

The Kanishka letter tells that the monk was invited by the king to discuss

with him Buddhist doctrines. Being too old to travel, the monk put his advice into the form of a poetic epistle. He urged the king, for example, to give up the hunting of wild beasts, exhorting him to live an exemplary Buddhist life: "Train yourself in the way of your own people: born in the Kuśa race, do not impair the household law of your ancestors, the sons of the Ārya stock." And, urging Kanishka to refrain from any killing and to be compassionate, the letter says: "since we cannot look upon the hurtful sun, act, O moon of kings, like the moon."²⁴

This letter is surrounded by the typical historical problems of the epoch.²⁵ There were at least two important kings named Kanishka about a century apart. Mātṛicēta's date is uncertain, but he seems to have been somewhat younger than Aśvaghoṣa. Amid this vagueness, however, is a reflection of the solid reality of the Kushan monarchy and its prestige in Buddhist India. The writings of Mātṛicēta also provide cogent insights into the content of Buddhist sculpture of the Kushanshahr (see Chapter IX).

THE KANISHKA STŪPA AND VIHĀRA AT PESHĀWAR

Most of the major Chinese pilgrim reports dealing with northern India discuss a great stūpa built by Kanishka outside Fo-lu-sha-pu-lo (i.e., Puruṣapura, the modern Peshāwar). Of all the pagodas of the Western world, this was probably the grandest in the eyes of the Chinese, who reproduced both its name and form in their homeland.²⁶ Even at the time of Alberuni (ca. A.D. 1000) it was still a vivid memory.²⁷

The most detailed description of this stūpa is that of Hsüan-tsang, which is generally supported in simpler guise by the earlier ones of Sung-yun and Fa-hsien.²⁸ The stūpa was said to have been built as fulfilment of a prediction of the Buddha, who said while in Gandhāra that four hundred years after his death a king would erect a stūpa to contain many relics of the Buddha's bones and flesh. At the stated time, Kanishka ascended the throne and governed the whole of Jambudvīpa. At first he despised and reviled the Buddha's Law (there were no such derogatory comments in the earlier reports), but while hunting a white hare in wild country, he met a shepherd boy (or boys) building a small stūpa of mud three feet high and repeating Buddha's prophecy. According to Fa-hsien, the boy was Sakra (Indra) in disguise. Kanishka ordered a stūpa built around the small one in order to prove the power of his religious merit; but however high his stūpa rose, the smaller one exceeded it by three feet. Kanishka's stūpa eventually reached 750 feet, and the older one was covered. The great king then raised on top twenty-five circlets of gilded copper on a staff, and in the center of the stūpa he placed a number of relics of the Buddha. When the work was finished, the small stūpa came through the larger one halfway up the southeast side. The great stūpa was then cut down to its second

story, whereupon the small one moved back to the center of the building. Kanishka realized that divine powers were greater than his, and rebuilt it as before.²⁹

According to a prediction of the Buddha, after the stūpa had seven times been burned down and seven times rebuilt, the religion itself would disappear. Hsüan-tsang visited it just after it had received its fourth calamity. Sung-yun said that it had been four times destroyed by lightning, and also that carved wood had been used throughout the roof.

Another version of the legend, in a Khotanese fragment from Tun-huang, repeats the tale of the building of the stūpa over a small mud structure, which here was begun by four children—the four lokapālas in disguise. When the great stūpa was finished, Kanishka's spiritual adviser, Āśvaghoṣa made a ball of clay, saying: "If I am to realize the bodhi in this present Bhadra-kalpa . . . by the casting of this ball, let some unparalleled sign appear." As soon as the ball was cast a certain image of the Buddha appeared as great in thickness and length as was Śākyamuni.³⁰ A Chinese source states that Kanishka himself placed a ball of clay on the stūpa, praying that it might become an image of the Buddha, and an image at once appeared.³¹

These tales are characteristic of the mixture of what is now called "fact" and of a conviction in the power and immanence of supernatural forces which gave such a monument its hold upon the imagination of the faithful. Thus Hsüan-tsang could describe two images of the seated Buddha on the east face of the tower covered by golden sand deposited there by ants in ancient times. Then there was a painted figure of the Buddha sixteen feet high, made for two impoverished donors, which had divided itself and emitted light for the benefit of the donors.³² Some 100 paces southwest of the stūpa a standing figure of the Buddha in white stone about eighteen feet high had spiritual powers and also emitted light; it once left its place to guard the area when robbers threatened it. There were hundreds of little stūpas to the left and right of the great stūpa. To the west was the monastery with doubled towers and connected terraces built by Kanishka. It was in disrepair in Hsüan-tsang's time, but still dedicated to the Hinayāna creed; an inscription marked the chamber where Pārśva, Kanishka's adviser, had lived. Nearby was a building where Vasubandhu dwelled and prepared the *Abhidharmakośa-śāstra*.

Such descriptions caused Cunningham, at some time before 1875, to surmise that a pair of mounds outside the Ganj Gate at Peshāwar called Shāh-jī-ki-dherī (Royal Mounds) were the remains of the Kanishka stūpa and vihāra.³³ However, in spite of some tentative and inconclusive soundings, it was not until 1908–1910 that the site was cleared by a small-scale, poorly financed excavation,³⁴ which succeeded in providing a plan of the stūpa, the location of the vihāra, a few examples of figurative sculpture in stone (for example, Figure 61) and in stucco, and of course the celebrated Kanishka

reliquary from the heart of the mound (Figure 60; see also Appendix II). The monument was constructed on a high plinth whose total diameter was 286 feet, making it one of the largest stūpas yet found on the Indian mainland. The plan of the plinth was basically that of a square with four projections on each side, giving it a cruciform shape with curved projections at each corner of the square. There were probably stairways leading onto the four projecting wings, and the lower courses of the plinth were decorated with stucco images.

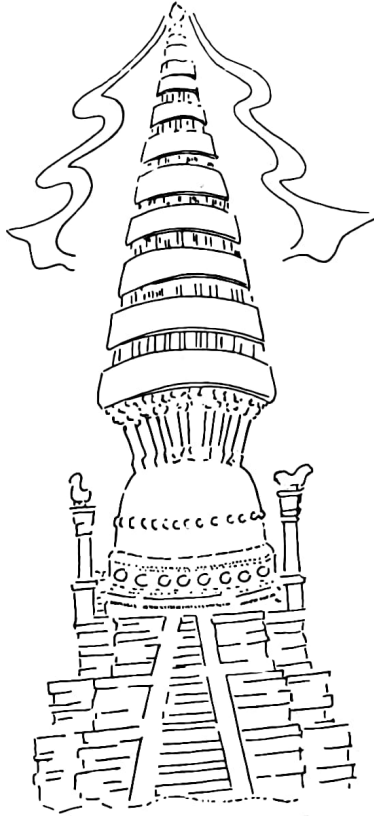


Fig. 3. Multistoried stūpa. From terra cotta plaques, Harwan, Kashmir.

Nothing of the superstructure was found. According to Chinese accounts, this monument must have been the most important of a type of towering stūpa, an idea of which can be gleaned from an image impressed upon clay plaques of about the fourth century A.D. found at Harwan in Kashmir (Text Figure 3) or a small stucco model found at Mohrā Morādu, Taxila.⁵⁵ In these, the superstructure of "gilded circlets" and their wooden supports completely overshadow the simple hemispheric element retained from the earlier stūpas, as at Sāñchī and Amarāvati, and thus anticipate the Far Eastern pagoda.

KANISHKA'S PASSIONS AND HIS PHYSICIAN

From the *Sampradāya-nidāna* comes a tale of Kanishka's physician Che-le (= Caraka), whom Kanishka had summoned to his court to advise him how to moderate his drinking and eating and how to control his senses.³⁶ Caraka is one of the greatest names in the history of Indian medicine (see n. 43). He delivered one of Kanishka's favorite wives of a stillborn boy, skillfully saving the life of the mother. He advised the king not to favor the bed of this wife any longer; if he did, the same thing would happen. But the fires of lascivious desires in Kanishka were intense, and he tendered his affections on the same wife, who brought another boy into the world with the same fate. Caraka then said that the king did not follow his instructions but surrendered himself to carnal love—a passion which should never be entertained. Those who are wise regard it as a detestable brigand. Caraka found it necessary to leave the evil regime of the king and to become a forest recluse.

THE CHINESE HOSTAGES

Hsüan tsang reported that Kanishka of Gandhāra, having subdued all neighboring provinces, governed a wide territory extending east of the T'sungling Mountains.³⁷ Even the tribes west of the Yellow River sent hostages to him; for their comfort he kept these hostages in India in the winter, in Kāpiśa in summer; and in Gandhāra in autumn and spring. Kanishka founded a monastery in each place where the hostages stayed. At Kāpiśa, in Hsüan-tsang's time, one of these buildings bore pictures of the hostages on the walls. The Chinese pilgrim also reported that the Indian town to which the hostages were sent was in the state of Cinabhukti (the fief of China ?) in the country above Amritsar, Jalandhar, and Sultanpur. There the hostages were remembered as having introduced peaches and pears.³⁸

As with some of Hsüan-tsang's reports, this seems to have the ring of historical validity to it, and there has been much speculation as to its political significance. Attempts have been made to correlate this with the report in the *Hou Han-shu* (118.13b) that King An-kuo of Kashgar (A.D. 107–113) sent his maternal uncle and retainers to the king of the Yüeh-chih and that they were well treated.³⁹ If the Chinese annal had named the Kushan king, problems in the chronology of this epoch would be closer to solution. Even so, the tale is relevant evidence for the dating of Kanishka (see Appendix I).

A material confirmation of the hostage tale has been suggested by Jacques Meunié, excavator of the viihāra of Shotorak (a modern name) in the environs of the ancient Kāpiśa.⁴⁰ Meunié believes that the site there fits the description of the monastery of the hostages in Hsüan-tsang's report despite some discrepancies in locations.

KANISHKA'S WARS, PENITENCE, AND DEATH

Sources preserved only in Chinese describe Kanishka as a cakravartin, a militant universal monarch. They describe his wars in India and the capture of Pāṭaliputra; they discuss a victorious war against an unidentified King of Parthia and a frustrated attempt to conquer the East.

The war with the Parthians is reported in a Chinese version of the *Sīdharmapitaka*, in which Kanishka is given a rather Aśokan guise.⁴¹ The King of An-hsi (Parthia) was stupid, and attacked Kanishka, whereupon Kanishka killed 900,000 Parthians. An arhat saw this deed and, to make Kanishka repent this bloodshed, induced in him a vision of the torments of hell. Thereupon the king repented and sought spiritual guidance from Aśvaghosha, who promised him redemption in the future.

Kanishka's war in the East has a similar flavor in the Chinese version of the *Samyukta-ratnapitaka*,⁴² in which the king had three wise men whom he considered his intimate friends: Aśvaghosha Bodhisattva, Māthara his chief minister, and Caraka his celebrated physician.⁴³ Aśvaghosha promised that if the king followed his instructions, he would achieve happiness in the life to come; the minister said that if he performed the counsel of his minister without divulging it, the entire world would fall beneath his empire; the doctor said that if the king followed his advice, he would not die a brutal death or suffer disabilities.

Three of the four regions of the world had already submitted to Kanishka's authority and were in peace; only the East had not yet submitted or asked protection. Setting off thus on a conquest of the East with a vanguard of Hu barbarians with white elephants, the army was unwilling to cross a dangerous pass in the Ts'ung-ling (Pamir) Mountains. Bewildered, Kanishka spoke to his horse in ironic anticlimax to the Buddhist tales of the victorious cakravartin riding upon his world-encircling steed: "I have always ridden on thee in all of my campaigns. Now that the three quarters have already been conquered, why art thou unwilling to advance on [this] road?"⁴⁴ Thus, Kanishka inadvertently revealed his plan of conquest, and the minister said that he had betrayed his trust not to divulge it and that as a result Kanishka would soon die. The king, realizing that he had killed more than 300,000 men in war and thus would suffer punishment in the future, confessed his sins, repented, performed charity, and built a monastery and gave food to the monks. But the courtiers said that the king had committed all sorts of errors in the past, had killed and massacred without reasons; so what good would it do for him to perform good deeds now? To instruct them, the king had a great pot filled with water, which he had boiled for seven days and nights; then he took a ring from his finger and cast it in the water. He demanded of his dignitaries that someone bring him the ring. They claimed this was impossible, but the

king replied that there must be some way to get it. The ministers said that if cold water were added, one could retrieve the ring without injuring his hands. Whereupon the king replied that just as he had committed wrongs in the past, the pot boiled with water. But now that he did good and had repented, it was like adding the cold water. Thus he made amends for the evil which he no longer committed; he had reached cessation. Upon this explanation the courtiers rejoiced.⁴⁶

The same failure of an Eastern expedition plays a role in the tales of his death. In the Chinese *Tripitaka* (*Sampradāya-nidāna*) it is related how, on the advice of his minister Māthara, Kanishka undertook the conquest of the world.⁴⁶ While on the expedition to the north, Kanishka's men learned of his desire for world conquest and took counsel among themselves. They said that the king was greedy and cruel and unreasonable, that his campaigns and conquests were frequent and had fatigued all his servants; that he could not be contented; that he wanted to reign over the four regions; that the garrisons guarded distant frontiers, and the soldiers' families were far from them. They decided to rid themselves of him. Since the king was ill, they put a blanket over him; a man sat on it, and the king died at once.

KANISHKA'S AFTERLIFE

Because he had heard Āsvaghosha preach the Law, Kanishka was saved from hell and reborn in the great ocean as a fish with a thousand heads.⁴⁷ But in consequence of his deeds, a wheel of knives interminably cut off his heads. Thus, in each of his successive rebirths he was constantly decapitated, the wheel continued to turn, and his heads filled the vast ocean.

Then there was an arhat who was the bell ringer for a vihāra. To him the king said: "Whenever the bell rings, the wheel stops, and during this moment my sadness and suffering are mitigated a bit. I wish only that the bell ringer take pity on me, that the sound of the bell resound and be prolonged." Filled with compassion, the monk rang the bell in the king's favor. On the summit of this same monastery, for the sake of the king, a bell was continually rung by men in relays.

DYNASTIC MATTERS

Kanishka's position as a successor of Vima was the object of much controversy during the first two decades of this century, until a series of symposia and articles, published largely in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, tended to dispel the arguments that he preceded Kujula and Vima.⁴⁸

It is often suggested too that Kanishka began a separate dynasty within

the larger scope of Kushan rule in India. This assumption is based on the differences in personal names, the first two Kushan kings having had the title Kadphises (or Kadaphes), which was dropped by Kanishka. The character of his name (i.e., the "shka" suffix) was retained by his successors Vāsishka and Huvishka.⁴⁹ Moreover, Kanishka and his successors gave up the Greek titlature and also the Kharoshthī legends which the first two kings had used on the reverse of their coins.

These distinctions are attractive to scholars who feel that the beginning of Kanishka's reign came after A.D. 125 but who are obliged to date Kujula largely in the first half of the first century on the rather firm grounds of the Chinese annals. This theory then gives rise to one of an interregnum between Vima and Kanishka to account for some of the years (as many as sixty-eight in some schemes) which would have intervened between Vima's death and Kanishka's accession, assuming that Kujula's rule had lasted as late as A.D. 78 and that Vima's rule was not exceptionally long.⁵⁰

I do not agree with the chronological aspects of this doctrine for the reasons which are explored in Appendix I. There seems to have been no major break in the dynasty. Moreover, the Māt dedicatory inscription strongly indicates that Huvishka's grandfather had been Vima. Thus there had been the ancient illusion of dynastic continuity if not the actual substance. Further, there is such a close agreement between Vima's and Kanishka's imperial symbols in coins and monumental sculpture that I am more tempted to link them in time than to separate them.⁵¹

KANISHKA'S NAME

The name Kanishka is said to have had a connotation of "most vigorously youthful," derived from the root *kan* meaning "young" or "small."⁵² On the basis of the Brāhmī inscriptions, it should be noted that the Indians often transcribed the name with a lingual "ṇ" and a long "ā"—Kāṇishka.⁵³ However this is not always true, the variants in different types of script are great, and I retain an unaccented form in this study.

KANISHKA'S ORIGIN

There are two unconfirmed theories about Kanishka's having ruled in the periphery of the Kushan Empire before assuming power as the Shaonanoshao. Both are based on the supposition of a separate Kanishka dynasty. The earlier—Sten Konow's—is that Kanishka came from Khotan, having been summoned as an ethnic ally at the time of troubles after Vima's reign. Konow supports this theory by citing a Tibetan tradition that a Khotanese expedition to India

of about A.D. 120 was commanded by a King Vijayakīrti along with a King Kanika and the king of Guzan.⁵⁴

Ghirshman's similar theory is that Kanishka was originally king of Kashmir before becoming suzerain of the dynasty as a whole. He cites the above-mentioned Khalatse epigraph, which may allude to Kushan power reaching the northeast corner of Kashmir, and also the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, in which the list of Turushka kings of Kashmir gave Kanishka's name as the third of a sequence, suggesting that he had predecessors there (Hushka and Jushka). Finally, testimony of Kanishka's activity in Kashmir in favor of the Buddhist faith suggests that he favored the region above others and that he founded Peshāwar as his capital to be close to Kashmir.⁵⁵

THE EXTENSION OF THE KUSHAN EMPIRE

Under Kanishka the Kushan Empire probably reached the height of its power, becoming a mighty force in the world of its day; but there has been a tendency among modern scholars to exaggerate its size.⁵⁶ Positive archaeological evidence of the prolonged presence of the Kushans has come from only five basic districts: Mathurā, Taxila, Peshāwar, Begram, and Surkh Kotal. I believe that the results of the Allahabad University excavations at Kauśāmbī will demonstrate that the Kushan Empire included that center for a brief period of time. The presence of the Kushans can also be traced throughout Gandhāra, the Swāt valley, and the Kabul region. Literary evidence makes their presence in Kashmir and Balkh also a near certainty.

Beyond this vast area of which one can speak with some confidence, there are important regions where it is not improbable for the Kushans to have ruled but for which the evidence is still tenuous or open to question. Such areas include: Khwārezm, where Russian archaeological activity has produced an unconfirmed hypothesis of Kushan suzerainty during the first to the third centuries A.D.; Ahicchatra, Kauśāmbī, Sāñchī, and Sāmāth, where Mathurā carvings inscribed with the names and/or dates of Kushan kings have been found; Mālwa and Mahārāshṭra, for which it has been speculated that the Kushans had an alliance with the Western Kshatrapas; Orissa, where local copper coins of the third to the fifth centuries imitated Kushan types and where substantial numbers of Great Kushan coins have been found; the western Tarim basin, in Kāshgar, Yārkand, Khotan, where literary evidence has indicated cultural connections with the Yüeh-chih.

It is difficult precisely to define the waxing or waning of the Kushanshahr at any given moment, to distinguish satrapies from independent but satellite states or from spheres of economic or political influence. In order to help clarify the matter, I have tried to list the areas which have been attributed to

the Kushanshahr by serious scholars and to present only the major items of evidence—an exhaustive geopolitical essay is not my intention here. But even after finishing this review, I find that the simple characterization of the Kushanshahr given above seems confirmed. At the height of its power its main axis extended from Mathurā to Balkh. Its cultural and political influence radiated from along the axis and from its extremes.

TARIM BASIN

Lying between the Tien-shan and Kun-lun mountain ranges, this great natural basin, more than 1,500 miles in length, long served as the chief corridor of overland trade and communication between China and the West. More than half its area is impassable desert, but along the northern and southern edges of the desert was a series of flourishing oasis city-states. In the second century A.D., a strong wave of Indian Buddhist civilization swept through the area to the very gates of metropolitan China, coming largely from the areas of Kushan hegemony in northern India, Afghanistan, and Bactria. The city-states were converted largely to Buddhism; a Sanskrit language written in Kharoshthī script was used for official records; and the region exerted marked influence over the development of Buddhist art and religion in China. Fortunately, because of the incredible aridity of the area, the archaeological remains of this culture are abundant and of high aesthetic interest.⁵⁷

The relationship between this area and the Kushans is difficult to determine. The *Ch'ien Han-shu* (94A.14b) records that a group of the main body of Yüeh-chih had been unable to join its exodus westward when attacked by the Hsiung-nu. These Hsiao (Lesser) Yüeh-chih, as they were called, settled among the Ch'iang (proto-Tibetan) people of Nan-shan at the southeast end of the basin in the mid-second century B.C. This same section of the Yüeh-chih seems also to have submitted to the redoubtable Chinese General Ho Chiu-p'ing about 121 B.C. Their presence in the area is further documented in the *Wei-lüeh* in the mid-third century, which states that in the mountains south of Tun-huang as far as the Pamirs were tribes of the Yüeh-chih.

There is no information about what connections may have existed between these Lesser Yüeh-chih and the main body. As noted above, Konow tried to develop an hypothesis that Kanishka had belonged to the Lesser Yüeh-chih and that he rose to power in Khotan. However, except for the one Tibetan source which he cited, this notion is quite unsubstantiated by other evidence.⁵⁸

On the more concrete basis of the Later Han Annals, it can be shown that the Ta (Greater) Yüeh-chih were active in the affairs of the oasis towns.⁵⁹ This information was an outgrowth of the decision of the Han Emperor Ho-ti (A.D. 88–106) to dispatch General Pan-ch'ao to bring the western regions under

the control of the Han, sending him in the footsteps of Chang-ch'ien and Ho Chiu-p'ing. Pan-ch'ao's reports indicate that the Yüeh-chih were at first amenable to the cause of the Han but later became hostile.

In A.D. 78 Pan-ch'ao sent a memorial that the states of Chu-mi, Yärkand, Kāshghar, the Yüeh-chih, Wu-sun, and Sogdiana were willing to offer allegiance to the Chinese; he also hoped to unify them to attack Kucha. By A.D. 84 the Yüeh-chih had established bonds of royal marriage with K'ang-chu (probably Sogdiana), and Pan-ch'ao sent an emissary with gifts to the Yüeh-chih king that he might influence the king of Sogdiana.

In A.D. 86 after having helped the Chinese forces attack Turfan, the Yüeh-chih king wished to offer tribute of precious stones, antelopes, and lions to the Han emperor and asked for a Han princess in return. Pan-ch'ao stopped his envoy and sent him back; the Yüeh-chih were offended. And in A.D. 90 the king of the Yüeh-chih sent Viceroy Hsieh (interpreted at times as Shāhi, a Kushan title) with 70,000 troops to attack Pan-ch'ao. Hsieh advanced, allowing his troops to plunder and pillage; but they became exhausted from their long journey, and Hsieh turned to Kucha for help. Pan-ch'ao intercepted their emissaries, killed them, and had the head of the chief envoy shown to Hsieh. Hsieh was greatly alarmed, and asked safe conduct for his withdrawal. Pan-ch'ao granted this request, and from that time the Yüeh-chih sent tribute to the Chinese.

In A.D. 102 Pan-ch'ao died, and the Chinese position in the region quickly deteriorated. Thus in A.D. 114-116 the King An-kuo of Kāshghar exiled his maternal uncle Ch'en-p'an and retainers to an unnamed king of the Yüeh-chih, where they were well treated. When An-kuo died the Yüeh-chih troops installed Ch'en-p'an as king of Kāshghar, and he became a strong power. This tale is roughly paralleled by that of Hsüan-tsang (discussed above) of Kanishka's receiving hostages from rulers of the "tribes west of the Yellow River."

Following this period the Chinese dynastic annals give no further information about the Yüeh-chih in the Tarim basin. The paucity of Kushan coins in the area and the absence of other substantial evidence, literary or archaeological, make it likely that the Kushan interests were strategic or commercial and that they did not rule directly over much of the region for any considerable period of time.⁶⁰

SOGDIANA

Sogdiana, lying between the Oxus and Jaxartes, was included in the Achaemenian Empire and was a center of Iranian civilization in Central Asia. In more recent history its chief bastions have been Samarkand and Bukhārā, although the latter at times has been considered the capital of a separate province. Occupied by Alexander the Great, Sogdiana was later integrated into the

Greek kingdom of Bactria until submerged in the wave of nomadic invasions which ended Greek hegemony in the area about 140 B.C. In 138 B.C. Chang-ch'ien reported that Sogdiana was a small country with 80,000 or 90,000 archers, a nomadic state with many the same customs as the Ta Yüeh-chih.⁸¹ He also stated that toward the south it was subservient to the Yüeh-chih, in the east subservient to the Hsiung-nu.

However, for the most part Sogdiana must have remained independent of the Kushans and formed the northern boundary of their empire. Evidence of an alliance with the Kushans in A.D. 84 has already been given. About A.D. 239 it was an independent state, according to the *Wei-lieh*.⁸² Nevertheless, great quantities of Kushan coins have been found near Bukhārā, at Talibarzu, and near Samarkand in the Zarafshān River valley.⁸³

BACTRIA AND BACTRA

Situated between the Hindu Kush Mountains and the Oxus River, having vast alluvial plains, abundant water, and a relatively moderate climate, Bactria was one of the chief centers of Iranian culture in Tūrān and important in the history of Zoroastrianism. Following the death of Alexander the Great, it passed from the hands of the Macedonians into those of the Seleucids, and in the mid-third century B.C. it became the seat of the independent Greek kingdom which extended northward into Sogdiana and ultimately deep into the Indian subcontinent. The conquest of Bactria by nomads, including the Yüeh-chih, about 140 B.C. is described above.

Standing figuratively at the junction of four worlds—Iranian, Indian, Tūrānian, and Sino-Mongolian—Bactria became a bastion of the Kushanshahr. The chief archaeological relic is the Kushan dynastic shrine recently excavated at Surkh Kotal in the southern part of the province (see Chapter VII). The principal city was Bactra (the modern Balkh), "Mother of Cities," standing in a rich oasis on the plain of the Oxus a short distance from the river on its southern bank. Today it is a gigantic mound of the overlain strata of presumably two millenia of occupation. Although Balkh has been the object of several archaeological soundings, there have been no extensive or conclusive excavations, and no substantial relics of the Kushans have been unearthed.⁸⁴ But there can be no doubt that Balkh was one of the basic centers of Kushan polity and an important Buddhist town.

There is written evidence (highly questionable, however) that the Kushan court was established there as early as the year 2 B.C.—King Ai-ti of the Former Han dynasty was said to have received from the King of the Yüeh-chih at Balkh an ambassador bringing sacred Buddhist books.⁸⁵ A Khotanese manuscript found at Tun-huang states that Candra Kanishka ruled in Bahlaka. About A.D. 239 the *Wei-lieh* indicated that Balkh was still in the hands of the

Ta Yüeh-chih.⁶⁶ Balkh was probably the chief coin-minting center of the empire throughout its history; its name appears on Kushano-Sasanian coins.

TUKHĀRISTĀN ACCORDING TO HSÜAN-TSANG

The problems involved in identifying Tūkhāristān with the Tokharian languages and with the Yüeh-chih have already been mentioned. However, Hsüan-tsang described the geographical aspects of the Tu-ho-lo country in some detail; his description is of great interest, for this must have been the original area from which the Kushanshahr grew.⁶⁷ It should be noted, however, that Hsüan-tsang did not identify this region with Kanishka or the Yüeh-chih. To him Kanishka was a great king of Gandhāra who ruled also in Kabul and Kāpiśa.

The boundaries of the area, according to Hsüan-tsang, were the Panjshir Range on the south, the Iron Gate (a long pass about ninety miles southeast of Samarkand) on the north, Persia on the west, and the T'sung-ling Mountains on the east. He says that there were twenty-seven separate districts in the Tu-ho-lo country, and he lists about twenty-five on either side of the Oxus, some of which have yielded traces of the Kushans.

The districts mentioned by Hsüan-tsang include: Balkh; Termez, along the north bank of the Oxus where Russian excavations at nearby Airtam have revealed Buddhist monasteries, grottoes, carvings, and Kushan coinage;⁶⁸ Andarāb, at the southern limit of Bactria, the site of unexcavated Buddhist ruins (it was later a mint town of the Abbāsids, Sāmānids, and Ghaznavids, using silver from the nearby Panjshir mountains);⁶⁹ Baghlān, a city in the vicinity of the Kushan dynastic shrine at Surkh Kotal called Bagolaggo in its inscriptions (see Chapter VII);⁷⁰ Kundūz, probably the second most important town in Tūkhāristān, said in A.D. 661 to be the capital of the (later) Yüeh-chih, site of a number of important hoards of pre-Kushan and Kushan-period antiques (Figure 127, a Buddhist carving with a Kushan devotee);⁷¹ (Alberuni considered Kundūz to be the capital of Tūkhāristān);⁷² Bolor, where Kanishka's final invasion to the north or east was said to have foundered in the high passes; Badakshān, the fertile uplands region in the great bend of the Upper Oxus, the source of great numbers of later Kushan coins.⁷³ (Other districts are listed in the notes.)⁷⁴

KHWĀREZM

This desert province along the lower reaches of the Oxus, highly fertile when irrigated, has been the object of extensive Russian excavations since the 1930's. Soviet archaeologists maintain that the Kushans ruled there from the first through the third centuries A.D., associating with them such sites as

Toprak Kala and Ajaz Kala. This hypothesis is certainly not improbable but, when contrasted with the abundant epigraphic and archaeological evidence yielded by Gandhāra or Mathurā of prolonged Kushan occupation, it should be considered as yet unproved, because the Khwārezmian evidence does not seem comparable in quantity and nature to that from the certified part of the empire (see Chapter VII).

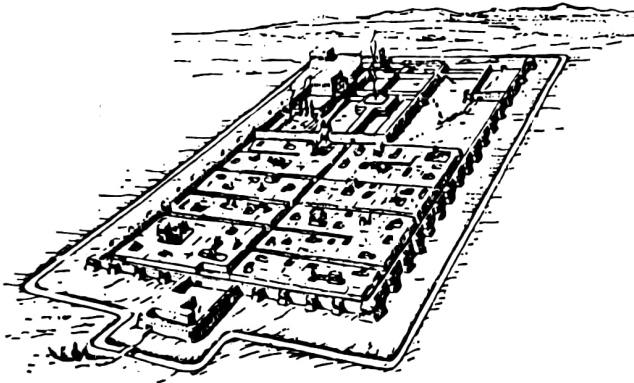


Fig. 4. Reconstruction of palace citadel at Toprak Kala.

KHURĀSĀN

Khurāsān, the "Eastern Land" of Sasanids, is the name applied here to the region from the great eastern desert of Iran to the highlands east of Herāt. Its chief centers have been Nishāpūr, Herāt (Ariana), Marw (Margiana), and occasionally Balkh. Khurāsān, was a part of the Greco-Bactrian kingdom until lost to the Śakas in the general debacle of Greek fortunes in central Asia, about 140 B.C., and was later recovered by the Parthians, probably by a successor of Mithridates II.

Ghirshman has claimed that Margiana fell to Kujula Kadphises, and Ariana to his successor, and that they long remained under Kushan control.⁷⁵ Moreover, Herzfeld found a Marw mint marking for a number of Kushano-Sasanian coins of the fourth century A.D. (see Chapter IV). However, Ghirshman's sources are essentially Paulus Orosius (fl. A.D. 415) and Stephanus Byzantius (fl. early sixth century A.D.)—both of them somewhat indirect sources of knowledge of the Kushanshahr. The use of Marw as a mint town for the Kushano-Sasanian coins can probably be attributed to Sasanian hegemony. Thus the association of the region with the Kushans is still very tenuous, and should not be considered as verified.

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KĀPIŚA

The chief city in the Paropamisadae Mountains in Kushan times, Kāpiśa (or Kāpiśi) is situated at the junction of the Panjshūr and Ghorband rivers near the village of Begram, twenty-five miles northeast of Kabul. Although it has been suggested that this area was the site of one of the city foundations of Alexander the Great in Afghanistan, the issue is clouded and uncertain.⁷⁶ There is no doubt, however, that the city was ruled by the Indo-Greek kings. An interesting reverse coin type of a Eukratides shows a seated person upon a throne with an elephant protome before it and a mountain symbol behind, and the Kharoshthī legend: Kaviṣiye Nagaradevata—the city god of Kāpiśa.⁷⁷ The area, with extensive ruins, yielded annually in the 1830's more than thirty thousand coins, dating from the Greco-Bactrians to the Kushans and later rulers, according to C. Masson.⁷⁸

The actual identification of the site with the Kushans is based on amazingly few clues, but it is nonetheless certain. Hsüan-tsang called Kāpiśa the "royal city" of Kanishka, Rāja of Gandhāra, and the place where he installed his "Chinese hostages" during the summer season.⁷⁹ Excavations in the area have produced, *inter alia*, an abundance of images of persons in Indo-Scythian dress, especially at Paitava (near Charikar) and Shotorak (four kilometers from Begram), the latter being possibly the chief place of Buddhist worship for the local Kushan aristocracy.⁸⁰

The richest archaeological find has been that at Begram, where a great hoard of luxury objects was found in a "palatial residence" or "bazar"—plaster models for silver plaques from the Greco-Latin West, Hellenistic bronze figurines, Syrian glass, Chinese lacquer ware, Indian ivory carvings for decorated boxes and seats.⁸¹ Although there are still questions as to the date and circumstances of the burial of the hoard, there is no doubt that it is proof of the cosmopolitanism and wealth of the Kushan princes.

KABUL

The *Hou Han-shu* specifically tells of the Yüeh-chih conquest of Kao-fu (presumably Kabul) from the Parthians, after which this city became a seat of Kushan power.⁸² Two sons of Artabanus, last of the Arsacid kings of Iran, fled from Ardashir I to the King of Kabul, ally of the Kushan Empire.⁸³ The *Wei-lüeh* included Kabul in the realm of the Yüeh-chih.⁸⁴ Alberuni included Kanishka as a member of the line of the Hindu Shāhis of Kabul.⁸⁵

Although H. H. Wilson reported Kushan coins, chiefly Vima's, as stūpa deposits in the small monuments around the city,⁸⁶ few specific relics of the Kushans have come from the town itself. A "Brahmanical" temple at Khair Khanah on the road to Begram, dated about A.D. 450, has yielded an interest-

ing Sūrya image (Figure 96), whose costume shows the persistence of the Indo-Scythian mode of dress.⁸⁷ And thirty miles west of Kabul, at Wardak, there are a number of Buddhist stūpas, from one of which came a reliquary inscribed in Kharoshthī with the year 51, "for the benefit of" the Kushan Emperor Huvishka.⁸⁸

JELĀLĀBĀD DISTRICT

Lying at the western end of the Khyber Pass, the Jelālābād district (ancient Nagarahāra) contains the remains of three major Buddhist sanctuary complexes, including the Hadda and Bīmarān stūpas.⁸⁹ This district is one of the richest sources of Romano-Buddhist sculpture, particularly in stucco, and there is no question that it was included in the Kushanshahr; numerous figures in Kushan costume appear in the stone carvings of Hadda (Figures 93, 94), and Masson withdrew from one Hadda stūpa a jar with a Kharoshthī inscription of the year 28, dedicating a Bodhisattva relic, most of the merit going to the king (unnamed but most likely a Kushan).⁹⁰

ARACHOSIA AND SEISTĀN

Although probably included in the realm of the Greek princes of Bactria and India until the general debacle of their fortunes about 140 B.C., Arachosia and Seistān have never been placed within the Kushanshahr by serious scholars. David McDowall believes that the rule of Indo-Parthian kings persisted there until the rise of the Sasanians.⁹¹ However, it should be noted that Seistān was the provenance of a group of later Kushan coins (Coins 243–246).⁹²

GANDHĀRA AND UDDIYĀNA

There is no question that the wealthy provinces commanding the eastern end of the Khyber Pass and lower Swāt River valley were major centers of the Kushanshahr.⁹³ Two of the most descriptive of all Indian images of Indo-Scythians appear in a series of small, finely carved stair-riser reliefs, probably from the Buner District, lower Swāt valley (Figures 58, 59). A peculiar image of an Indo-Scythian figure is found carved on a cliff face near Shankardar, Birkot, in Swāt.⁹⁴

Kanishka was known to Hsüan-tsang as the king of Gandhāra; the historicity of the traditions of the Kanishka stūpa at Peshāwar have been verified by Spooner's excavations and the finding of the Kanishka reliquary. The inscription of Shāpūr at Naqsh-i-Rustam mentions the inclusion within the Sasanian Empire of the Kushanshahr before Paskibouron (interpreted as Peshāwar; see Chapter IV). Indo-Scythian figures are found abundantly as donors in the Buddhist carvings at such sites as Takht-i-Bāhī, and Sahrī-Bahlol.

TAXILA AND THE WESTERN PANJĀB

The chief political and cultural center in the Western Panjāb, the ancient Takshaśilā, became the site of three separate ruined cities: the Bhiṛ Mound, which represents the oldest urban settlement there; Sirkap, the Greco-Parthian city; and Sirsukh, which is probably the remains of a Kushan citadel. Of the three, Sirkap has been the most extensively excavated, and has yielded evidence that the Kushans succeeded the Indo-Parthian dynasty of Gondophares as rulers of the city—probably about A.D. 50. One unique type of silver drachma of Kujula was minted there (Coins 10, 11), but some time in the reign of Vima or (more likely) Kanishka a new bastion was erected at what is now called the Sirsukh mound, one mile to the northeast.⁹⁵ Measuring around 1,500 yards by 1,100 yards, it was built according to a different plan and using a different mode of fortification than those at Sirkap.⁹⁶ Unfortunately for Kushan studies, this mound has had only preliminary archaeological investigations, sufficient to establish no more than its general nature. A full-scale excavation would immensely amplify our knowledge of the empire.

It seems likely that upon the construction of this new citadel by the Kushans a series of sanctuaries was begun east of Sirsukh, sanctuaries whose artistic features are notably later than those west of Sirkap, such as the great Dharmarājikā stūpa, Kālāwān, or the Fire Temple at Janḍiāl. These later sites include the stūpas and Vihāras at Mohṛā Morādu, Jauliān, Giri and Bhamāla, Pippala, and Lālchak and Bādālpur; from these have come interesting examples of Indo-Scythian donor portraits (e.g., Figures 56, 57).

There is copious evidence of the presence of the Kushans in other parts of the Western Panjāb, particularly the inscriptions at Zeda, Uṇḍ, Mānikīālā, and Arā.⁹⁷ Kushan coins have been found in the region in great quantity, most notably later ones inscribed with Brāhmī letters indicating Vāsu and Chhu (see Chapter IV), suggesting that the Kushans or rulers claiming their authority held the region until the fourth century, in spite of the mention in the Ferhista of Ardashir's conquest of the region as far as Sirhind—a passage of dubious authenticity.⁹⁸

A highly important inscription was found at Sui Vihār, sixteen miles southwest of Bahāwalpur, dated in the eleventh year of the reign of Kanishka.⁹⁹ This inscription indicates the extension of Kushan authority south of the Panjāb, although it is not clear whether or not the Kushans directly controlled the trading stations at the mouth of the Indus.

KASHMIR

The physical evidence of the Indo-Scythians in the Vale of Kashmir is extremely scarce, but literary evidence is so strong that there can be no doubt

that the upper valley of the Jhelum was a part of the Kushanshahr, just as it formed an important part of the Mughal Empire. The Kashmiri dynastic chronicle, the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, written in the twelfth century A.D., has a brief but celebrated reference to three Turuksha kings, Hushka, Jushka, and Kanishka—presumably Huvishka, Vāsishka, and Kanishka—each of whom founded a city bearing his own name. Although this passage is extremely brief and the memory of the Kushans at the time of its writing must have been quite tenuous, there are three modern villages whose names seem to have been derived from the royal names as given in the chronicle: Ushkur, inside the Baramula Pass; Zukur, north of Śrīnagar; and Kanispor, between Baramula and Śrīnagar.¹⁰⁰



Fig. 5. Equestrian archer. Stamped tile. Harwan, Kashmir

The *Wei-lüeh* included Kashmir (as Ki-pin) in the Kushan Empire about A.D. 239,¹⁰¹ and the Buddhist literary tradition in Tibetan and Chinese fully associates Kanishka and the Third Council of the faith with Kashmir. But archaeological remains are much less certain. In eastern Kashmir, the Khalatse epigraph may mention Vima Kadphises and the year 157, as shown above; but the oldest remains of Buddhist art and architecture seem to be a stūpa and monastery at Harwan, two miles from the Shalimar Gardens in the Vale of Kashmir itself.¹⁰² A large number of ornamented stamped tiles paved the area around the main stūpa and caitya hall. These contain Kharoshthī numerals, and their imagery bears traces of an Iranian taste, particularly in the hunting scenes, which are incongruous in a Buddhist monument (Text Figure 5). Such hunts were part of Guptan coin symbolism, and the poses and facial features of the figures in the tiles may be compared to elements in Guptan and Hephthalite coinage, suggesting a date in the fourth century A.D. Elsewhere in Kashmir, particularly around Ushkur and Akhnur, numerous terra cotta heads have been found which attest to the persistence of the aesthetic canons of Kushan Gandhāra into a much later period.¹⁰³

THE UPPER GANGETIC PLAIN

The northern approaches to the Gangetic plain seem to have been held by Indian tribal states, such as the Yaudheyas (Coin 286 and the Kuṇḍas (Coin 285). The Yaudheyas were notable devotees of the war god Kārttikeya, and so fiercely did they uphold martial Kshatriya traditions that they were given the label "early Rajputs." In view of the evidence of their military activities in the second and third centuries A.D. and the paucity of Kushan relics within the region between Delhi and Taxila, we may assume that the Kushans were largely held at bay north of their main line of communication to Indra-prastha and Mathurā although they probably controlled the mountain foothills of Kashmir.

The city of Mathurā has provided the most concrete evidence of prolonged Kushan occupation of any single place in the entire empire. More than 150 inscriptions cite Kushan rulers, officials, and dates; there was a Kushan dynastic sanctuary in the area; and the soil of Mathurā, so rich in archaeological treasure, has yielded a great number of Kushan donor effigies and terra cotta figurines—all reflecting the presence of the Kushans (see Chapter VI).

Elsewhere in the upper Gangetic plain, Kushan authority seems to be attested to by the Kushan eras found inscribed on votive images, notably at Ahicchatra, Śrāvastī, and Kauśāmbī (see chart, Appendix III); Mathurā carvings of the Kushan period in large numbers were exported to these and other sites.

THE LOWER GANGETIC PLAIN

The extension of at least the name of the Kushans into Magadha and the Buddhist holy land is dramatically attested by the Bala Bodhisattva image now in the Sārnāth Museum (Figure 53). Larger than life size, this image was dedicated in the third year of Kanishka's reign by a Bhikshu Bala, who had also dedicated similar statues at Kauśāmbī (in the second year) and at Śrāvastī (date lost)—all carved at Mathurā of red sikri sandstone.¹⁰⁴ The Sārnāth piece also lists as donors two Kshatrapas—Vanaśpara and Kharapallāna—presumably Kushan nobles. In addition, both Chinese and Tibetan sources tell of Kanishka's capturing Pāṭaliputra and/or Ayodhyā (Sāketa).¹⁰⁵

Kushan coins are found abundantly in the lower Ganges region and in Orissa, at such sites as Mayurbhañj, Sisupalgarh, Buxar, and Sitābhiñj.¹⁰⁶ It is likely that they circulated freely as currency supplanting local issues. In the late third or fourth century A.D., local Orissan coins, now called Puri Kushan (Coins 287, 288), were minted in copper in imitation of Kushan types. Perhaps these were a substitute for the regular Kushan issues whose supply was probably cut off as the dynasty fell, in the later part of the third century.¹⁰⁷

It is difficult to translate this evidence into an accurate picture of the extension and duration of Kushan authority. However, with the kind of evidence at Mathurā which clearly and massively demonstrates the prolonged presence of a foreign conqueror, it is not easy to accept the idea of extensive occupation of the lower Gangetic region by the Kushans, assuming the possibility of ephemeral conquest, economic domination, or indirect suzerainty (as had been true in Kāshgar). When the reports of the Allahabad University excavations at Kauśāmbī are finally published, it will be possible to judge this issue more accurately.

MURUNDAS

A relevant topic is that of the mysterious Muruṇḍa princes of the lower Gangetic region. A variety of independent sources—Ptolemy, Jain texts, the *Purāṇas*, and Chinese dynastic annals—speak of a state extending perhaps from Pāṭaliputra eastward and ruled by kings with the title of Muruṇḍa,¹⁰⁸ which seems originally to have been an Indo-Scythian word meaning Lord or Master. It was used to label a Kanishka in the Zeda inscription of the eleventh year, along with the rank Marjhaka (chamberlain or treasurer); its Sanskrit equivalent, Svāmin, occurs frequently in Western Kshatrapa inscriptions.¹⁰⁹

Perhaps the most detailed literary description is in the Chinese history of the Liang State, the fifty-fourth kuan of the *Liang-chou* (compiled in the mid-seventh century A.D.), which records that an embassy from the state of Fu-nan (in modern Cambodia) arrived in this Indian kingdom between A.D. 222 and 252, was treated with respect and given four Yüeh-chih horses as honorific gifts.¹¹⁰ The kingdom, ruled by princes with the title Mo-lun, was large and prosperous, was flanked by Kapilavastu and Śrāvastī and (?) Che-po, and received the obeisance of other kingdoms. That the Muruṇḍas were a foreign dynasty is corroborated by the *Purāṇas*, some of which list these kings among the upstart races of the Kali age among the Ābhīras, Śakas, Yavanas, Tukhāras, and Gardabhilas, stating specifically that the Muruṇḍas were of Mleccha (foreign, barbarian) origin.¹¹¹ In the celebrated *Allahābād Prasasti* of Samudragupta, the Muruṇḍas are listed among those people engulfed by the rise of Gupta power in the mid-fourth century; but they are listed in a puzzling manner—as the “daivaputra shāhi shahānushāhi śaka muruṇḍa.”¹¹² That the old Kushan titles of devaputra and shāhi were combined with Śaka and Muruṇḍa has given rise to conflicting explanations of whether this passage refers to the princes of one line or several, whether the Indo-Scythians conquered by Samudragupta were of one political unit or more. The issue remains unresolved.¹¹³

Several sources (Ptolemy, the *Liang-chou*, certain Jaina texts) place the Muruṇḍa kings on the right bank of the Ganges and along the valley of the

modern Sarju or Ghogra River, including at times the once great city of Pāṭaliputra. However, other sources (in a similarly consistent manner) place the Muruṇḍas in the Indo-Afghan border zone, in some instances equating them with the Lampākas, who were settled along the Kabul River above Jelālābād.¹¹⁴ It is most surprising that they would have been localized in two widely separated regions, but this might be explained by the hypothesis that the Gangetic Muruṇḍas were an offshoot of an Indo-Scythian group of the northwest established as a kind of Kushan fief, or that they might have been detached as *condotieri* who won control of the region to the south. However, with so little evidence at hand it is best not to force the issue. Surely the attempt to give the name Muruṇḍa as an inclusive title for all later Kushan princes after Vāsudeva I is not yet warranted.¹¹⁵

The connections between the Muruṇḍas and the Cambodian region, as attested by the *Liang-chou*, are of interest. Specialists in Southeast Asian history have noted subtle indications that the waves of cultural influence generated by the Indo-Scythians followed the lines of early Indian penetration into that area, and had a discernible effect in Java and Cambodia on regal customs, the growth of the Saura cults, and certain iconographic traits in sculpture.¹¹⁶

MĀLWA AND GUJARADEŚA

It is frequently assumed that Kushan authority was recognized by the Western Kshatrapas, the Śaka nobles who governed in Mālwa, Kāṭhiāwār, and lower Sindh and who were ethnically akin to the Kushans. (This issue, which is basic to one's understanding of the extent of the Kushan state, is discussed in Chapter V, the conclusion there being that the Western Kshatrapas probably did not freely recognize Kushan authority but may well have been coerced at times to serve their purposes, as were the Rajput princes of much the same area by the Mughals.)

A number of tenuous clues indicate that Kushan-Śaka power extended into the northwestern Deccan. Beyond the tale of the war between Kanishka and Sātavāhana related above, Jaina legends record a struggle between Nahapāna, a Western Kshatrapa (see Chapter V), and the Sātavāhanas for commercial control of such port cities as Barygaza (the modern Broach);¹¹⁷ similarly Ptolemy, writing about A.D. 140, tells of a King Sandanes who controlled sea traffic along the northwest Deccan coast and who forced ships to land at Barygaza; according to Sylvain Lévi, this Sandanes may possibly have been Candara Kanishka.

Among the great number of Mathurā carvings exported to Sāñchī, the Buddhist sanctuary near the town of Vidiśā, are two works whose inscriptions mention the names of Kushan kings (Vāsashka and Vaskushāṇa) and are

dated in the years 22 and 28 (Figure 34). Both the names and dates on these statues are sources of controversy (see Chapter IV, note 22). Nonetheless, working on the assumption that Kushan authority was recognized wherever inscriptions dated in a Kushan era are found, many writers have accepted these statues as proof of Kushan sovereignty in the area. However, images of this kind were sent from Mathurā to Sāñchī throughout the Kushan and Gupta periods; these particular inscriptions were devotional and not political in nature. Thus they should not be taken as first-hand evidence of Kushan authority unless supported by other data, which are lacking here. Had the Kushans been strongly established in the region, it is likely that they would have left behind them more substantial epigraphic traces.

KANISHKA'S COINAGE

Kanishka's gold coins are far less pretentious than Vima's, lacking the splendid double-dinar issues and showing the king in only two modest royal portrait types. They differ from Vima's in other ways. Vima's coins used Greek legends and titles on the obverses and Kharoshthī on the reverses, and thus were close to the bilingual traditions of his Indo-Greek, Saka, and Parthian predecessors. Kanishka, following his inaugural issues, used the same middle-Iranian "Bactrian" language found on the Surkh Kotal inscriptions on both sides of his coins, supplanting both Greek and Kharoshthī. He used the Iranic Shaonanoshao instead of Mahārāja rājātirāja and BACIAEYC, which appeared on Vima's coins; and for the deities on the reverse, he used Iranic names, thus MIRO (and not Sūrya) for ΗΑΙΟC, Mao (and not Candra) for ΣΑΛΗΝΗ. Also unlike Vima's coins, on the reverses are a complex series of deities (see Chapter III).

TYPE I. "Basileus" type. Coins 30, 31.

Obv. King, wearing low rounded cap of uncertain design, standing to l. sacrificing over low rounded altar. In l. hand is spear. Has long, untidy beard. Dressed in long tunic, shalwars with some kind of anklet, and mantle held by double clasp at the chest. Armed also with sword whose pommel is shaped like an animal neck and head. Wears belt with a double-unit buckle. Flames emanate from r. shoulder.

Legend from l:00 BACIAEYC BACIAEWN KANISHKOY.

This type must be considered a separate grouping of Kanishka's coins by virtue of the Greek titles in the legend and the Greek names for the deities, in contrast to the Eastern nomenclature in his late issues. Morphologically, these coins comprise an inaugural series, and thus introduce new elements into Kushan dynastic imagery, but they retain Vima's monogram, No. 4.

With Kanishka, a spear became a prominent part of Kushan royal

regalia. It was probably intended more as an emblem than as a weapon in a practical sense, but its precise symbolic significance is unclear. The only literary source to my knowledge which bears on the matter is the legend, preserved by Alberuni and discussed above, of how Kanishka was able to bring water from the desert by driving his spear into the ground and at the same time bring death to the king of Kanoj. There is, however, a great deal of information from contemporary Rome, where a spear was one of the prime symbols of imperial authority, treated as a sacred object, and used in the administration of justice.¹¹⁸

A giant spear as a war implement was, however, a prominent part of the armament and symbolism of the Indo-Sakas. This in itself involves basic issues of military tactics and larger cultural orientation. The coin portraits of Maues and Azes I (Text Figure 15; Coins 269, 270) show the princes heavily armored somewhat in the manner of the Persian cataphracts so famous in the classical world, and represented, for example, in the graffiti of Dura or the life-sized equestrian portrait of Khosroes II at Taq-i-Bustan.¹¹⁹ The Persian riders wear helmets, and both they and their horses are protected with chain mail or with body plates of metal or leather. A long spear and a long sword are the basic offensive weapons. According to historical records, this armament was used by the aristocrats among the Sarmatians of South Russia and the Parthians of Iran, whereas their retainers were armed with bows and arrows and comprised the light cavalry. This was a formidable tactical system, which the Sasanians also used and which the Romans both feared and emulated. The Indo-Saka princes are shown in much the same guise on their coins, except that their horses appear not to have had the same degree of protection.

It is often assumed that the Kushans were part of the same wave of tribal movements from which the Sarmatians and Parthians emerged, and that these nations were closely related in culture. If this was true, it is strange that there are no representations of the Kushans as cataphracts. In fact, I know of only one Kushan princely equestrian image of any sort (Seal 1), and the Kushans, in their dynastic symbolism, never showed themselves in combat. This may have been in deference to the pacifist ideals of Buddhism; however, there are many instances of armed Kushans shown as worshipers (Figures 29, 59), and there are examples of body armor among their relics. For instance, in a relief carving found at Mathurā showing two worshipers before a lingam (mid-second century A.D.), both men wear a kind of triangular shoulder armor, and the larger man has square platelets on the skirt of his tunic (Figure 41). A small figure of a Kushan man worshiping Pāñcika-Kubera has overlapping scale armor on his shoulders (Figure 62a), and a fragmented relief from Sahrī-Bahlol shows a devotee with large overlapping plates on the skirt of his tunic (Figure 68).

On the coins of Vāsudeva I and his successors, the kings themselves are

heavily armored, wearing a mailed tunic or cuirass with round disks on the upper part. The skirt is covered with overlapping rectangular plates, and the sleeves are sheathed with flexible rings. However, much of the form seems to be similar to Roman examples; the deity Shaoreoro on Huvishka's coins wears the same type of armor, and this was clearly derived from Roman prototypes (see Chapter III; Coins 60, 188, 191). The Kushan armor seems somewhat heavier and covers more of the body. Yet despite these examples of body armor and the spear of Kanishka, there is still very little evidence to support the idea that the Kushans employed the heavy cavalry so fundamental to the military tactics of the other contemporary nations of former Central Asians.

TYPE Ia. Coin 32.

Obv. As in Type I above, except that king wears tall pyramidal hat with crest ornament

TYPE II. SHAONANOSHAO type. Coin 33.

Obv. As in Type I except that king wears low rounded cap with uncertain device at sides. Also, holds in r. hand elephant goad, or ankusá.

Legend from 7:00: SHAONANOSHAO KA//NESHKI KOSHANO.

Kanishka, in all but his inaugural types, holds an elephant goad in the hand with which he performs a sacrifice over the fire altar, almost as though the weapon were in some way involved in the ritual. This motif derives its meaning from such types as Vima's (Coin 17) and Huvishka's (Coins 41-43), in which the king is shown as a triumphant elephant rider; thus the goad is the attribute of a master of ancient India's greatest instrument of warfare. In the early stages of the Huvishka coinage (e.g., Coin 48), the king carries the goad occasionally in his profile portraits. Following this, however, it disappears from Kushan numismatics.

TYPE IIa. Coin 34.

Obv. As in Type II, except that king wears low, forward-pointing cap with crest ornament, circular spot at its side, and thin bill. Wart visible near the king's mustache.

Legend from 7:00, as in Type II.

TYPE IIb. Quarter dinar only. Coin 35.

Obv. Bust of king in profile to l. King holds staff in l. hand. Headdress and features as in Type IIa, wart clearly visible near mustache. Bust emerges from rocks, similar to those in Vima's Type V.

Legend from 1:00, as in Type II above.

TYPE III. Coins 36, 37.

Obv. King standing as in Type II except that he wears rounded helmet with crest ornament and wavelike device on side similar to that in Vima's Type V. Brim of cap divided by square-shaped patterns. King's wart prominent in this series.

Legend from 7:00, as in Type II.

TYPE IIIa. Coin 38.

Similar to Type III except that helmet has on side device of Macedonian Soldier type of Kujula's Type V (Coins 8, 9); found also on Huvishka's reverse type of MANAOBAGO (Coins 98, 99).

TYPE IV. Seated king. Copper only. Coins 39, 40.

Obv. King seated frontally upon wide throne with square back and sides. R. hand in gesture of abhāyamudrā. Wears wide-brimmed hat and voluminous trousers. Similar in presentation to the icon of MANAOBAGO on reverses of his own and Huvishka's issues (Coins 96-99) and rare copper type of Kanishka III (Coin 247).

Legend from 1:00: [Probably] . . . NESHKI . . .

VASISHKA

Kanishka's successor was called Vāsishka, possibly meaning "most vigorous, energetic."¹²⁰ Although no coins can be attributed to him and the evidence for his existence comes from but two inscriptions, the circumstances are such that a short reign of this king seems undeniable. He is mentioned with full imperial titles in an inscription in pure Sanskrit on the shaft of a Brahmanical sacrificial pillar erected at Isāpur across the Jumna River from Mathurā City.¹²¹ It is dated in the year 24 in the fourth month of summer; Kanishka's inscriptions stop in the year 23, the first month of summer (see chart, Appendix III).

The next epigraph attributed to Vāsishka was found on an inscribed statue of an ornate Bodhisattva exported from Mathurā to Sāñchī (Chapter IV, p. 22). It bears full imperial epithets—but the name is spelled Vāsashka—and is dated in the year 28, the first month of winter. However, on complex stylistic grounds, this statue must be attributed to a much later period.

From the northwest comes the other confirmation of Vāsishka's status. It is the puzzling Ārā inscription of the year 41, found on a stone inscribed in Kharoshthī which came to light near the Indus River not far south of Attock.¹²² The stone marked the digging of a well during the reign of a King Kanishka, the son of Vajheshka. The word Vajheshka is interpreted as the Kharoshthī equivalent of Vāsishka in Brāhmī and of the Jushka in the Rājataranginī, and thus the king is thought to have been the father of a monarch who ruled about the year 41 of the Kanishka epoch.

KANISHKA II

The same *Ārā* inscription has given evidence of the Mahārāja Rājātirāja Devaputra Kāisara Kanishka, who can neither be satisfactorily explained nor denied some significance. The chief excitement aroused by the inscription has been centered on the term "kāisara," which indicates that this Kushan king was aware of and imitated the Roman epithet. Rapson once threw great doubt on the reading of "kāisara,"¹²³ but in a recent study Basham has stated that although the word is by no means clear in the epigraph, no other plausible alternative presents itself.¹²⁴ It appears only in this one example among Kushan sources; thus its significance as evidence of the political outlook of the Kushan kings is somewhat limited.

The year 41 falls in the middle of the regnal period of the next major Kushan ruler, Huvishka. To account for this single inscription of a Kanishka at this time, scholars have devised as many explanations as seem logically possible, for example:¹²⁵ (1) That it belongs to Kanishka I, who had returned to India after his campaigns in the Tarim basin and resumed power, having left Vāsishka and then Huvishka to rule for eighteen years. (2) That both Kanishka and his father Vajeshka were dead when the inscription was carved, Kanishka's name being used to identify the era. Thus it would confirm the order of Turushka kings given in the *Rājataraṃgiṇī* (Hushka, Jushka, and Kanishka), that Hushka and Jushka were subordinates of the Kadphises kings in Kashmir where Kanishka also reigned before seizing the Kushan Empire.¹²⁶ (3) That Kanishka II was a minor when he succeeded his father Vāsishka, who died after a short reign. Huvishka ruled as a regent; then Kanishka II succeeded to the throne, died or was killed and Huvishka continued to reign. (4) That Kanishka II was a short-lived usurper. (5) That there were two Huvishkas, grandfather and grandson, with Kanishka II intervening. (6) That there were two Huvishkas, the first being Kanishka II's uncle who usurped the throne. Kanishka II regained it but was succeeded by his cousin, Huvishka II.

Although these explanations seem to have varying degrees of probability, none is demonstrably correct, and the nucleus of fact in the matter is not large enough to prevent pure speculation.

III. HUVISHKA AND THE KUSHAN PANTHEON

THE DATED donative inscriptions of Mathurā begin to mention the royal name Huvishka in the year 28 and continue until the years 64 or 67. Thus a reign of somewhat more than thirty-six years for a Huvishka or Huvishkas is assured.¹ A large monastery at Mathurā—the Huvishka vihāra at Jamālpur—was named after him, and there are seventeen dated references to his name in the Mathurā lithic record; however, there is only one other reference elsewhere—in Kharoshthī of the year 51 at Wardak, near Kabul.² Historical or literary sources contain only one mention of this king (the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* discussed above), yet the numismatic and epigraphic traces are the most copious of any Kushan prince. His name, according to H. W. Bailey, bore connotations centered in the root “huv,” meaning something like “excellence” or “leadership” or “maturity,” the suffix “-ishka” giving it the meaning “having the most huv quality.”

28-64/67
Huvishka

Marshall has noted a peculiarity in Huvishka's inscriptions at Mathurā;³ that not before the year 40 is he mentioned with the imperial epithet *rājātirāja*. Before that date he is called *Mahārāja* or *Mahārāja devaputra Shāhi*, whereas all his coins bear the Iranian title *shaonanoshao* (King of Kings). Marshall concluded that Huvishka did not start minting until the fortieth year of the Kanishka era, but this may be the wrong inference from the facts. There is much inconsistency in the titles in the Mathurā epigraphs. Kanishka is called *rājātirāja* on only one of them although his coins carry the full imperial titles, and Huvishka lacks such epithets in inscriptions dated after the year 40 as well (he is so named only three times). Yet it seems difficult to deny some weight to the fact that the now obscure Vāsishka was given the full range of titles at Mathurā in the year 23, whereas in the years 28, 29, and so on after him Huvishka was not. The puzzling *Arā* inscription dates from the time span of the Huvishka

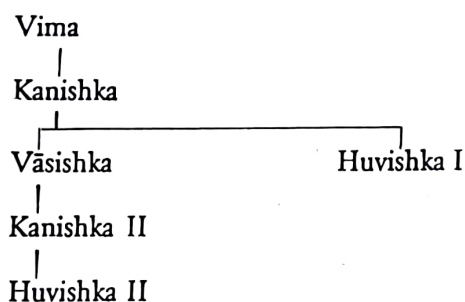
Marshall's note
on this subject
is in the
Journal of the
Royal Asiatic Society
1913, p. 100.

reign, but there is little evidence to indicate in what way the nature or duration of his rule was affected. The existence of Kanishka II might have been a limiting factor in the granting of full imperial epithets to Huvishka.

THE TWO-HUVISHKAS THEORY

For several years numismatists and historians have also been toying with the idea that there were two kings closely linked in time who were called Huvishka (Ghirshman's Kashmir theories, however, separate them by two generations).⁴ Basham has formally proposed the idea that they were Huvishka uncle and nephew—the uncle ruling before Kanishka II, the nephew ruling after him.⁵ This assumption is based upon the *Ārā* inscription and its hints of some dynastic turmoil, also on the *Māt devakula* inscription which makes it likely that Huvishka's grandfather was Vima, which in turn makes it conceivable that Huvishka was a brother of Vāsishka, thus:

Basham: Huvishka I before Kanishka II; Huvishka II after Kanishka II.
Huvishka as brother of Vāsishka



There are other possibilities,⁶ and there is no question that the Huvishkan record has irregularities, which are clearly evident after a study of coins bearing the name Huvishka.

THE HUVISHKA COINAGE

Huvishka's are by far the most common of all Kushan gold issues. These coins give an impression of having been part of a veritable stream of gold from his mint centers, which must have remained primarily in Bakh. They seem to support the general picture which emerges from the Mathurā epigraphs—if the vast number of religious foundations and inscribed carvings there is a safe indication—that this reign, in spite of the irregularities, became a period of great prosperity.

Strangely, Huvishka abandoned the royal portrait type used by Kanishka—that of the king standing frontally sacrificing at an altar. Instead, there was a

revival of types previously used by Vima—for example, the royal elephant rider and the royal bust appearing above clouds or rocks. The most common of Huvishka's types is that of the profile bust portrait facing to the left, but this is presented in bewildering variations. To organize these types into a viable scheme is a major taxonomic task for a professional numismatist. The first temptation is to arrange them according to the apparent ages of the profile portraits, for these seem to run from youth (e.g., Coins 57-59) to maturity (e.g., Coins 60-62, 68) to old age (e.g., Coins 46, 47) in fairly well-defined stages, the blundered issues notwithstanding. One can do this, for example, with the coins of the Indo-Greek Prince Strato I.

Simple solutions are usually denied to Kushan studies. Robert Göbl has indirectly shown that the coins whose reverses most closely resemble those of Kanishka and share the same monogram device are those whose coin portraits seem most mature.⁷ The legends are also written in a script very similar to that of Kanishka's. The stylistically fine Huvishka coins with an apparently middle-aged man's portrait on the obverse and a strongly classical spirit in the representations of the reverse deities belong to the final phase of his issues; epigraphically and stylistically, they bear close comparison to the coins of Vāsudeva, the successor of Huvishka according to the Mathurā inscriptions. Between these are the coins whose portraits appear most youthful and without a nimbus; these contain a large number of the confused and blundered reverse images.

Following Göbl here, I shall arrange the Huvishka obverses into three taxonomic categories without implying that these apparent anachronisms can be assigned a precise historical significance. But I shall strive to clarify the factors of pictorial style, iconography, and dress, which are my chief concerns. The deities shown on the reverses are discussed separately below.

FIRST GROUP

These are coins whose monogram device and style of representing the reverse deities are closest to the coins of Kanishka. The group also includes coins which are stylistically closely allied to these but bear Huvishka's own distinctive monogram, No. 7, Text Figure 7.

TYPE I. Elephant rider. Coins 41, 42.

Ruler seated profile astride elephant facing r. Holds añkuśa in l. hand, spear in r. Wears forward-pointing bonnet of sort worn by Kanishka in Type IIb with fluttering diadem ribbons.

Legend from 7:00: SHAONANOSHAO//OOERKO KOSHANO.

The motif of the king as elephant rider seems to revive the similar type of Vima's (Coin 17), suggesting a commemorative or inaugural issue and a token of Indian conquest. The obverse of the deity ARDOXSHO is nearly identi-

Age of Huvishka from youth to maturity to old age, fairly well seen on coins like Strato I.

But the maturity of his coins cannot be determined on basis of his portrait, as coins mostly closely resembling Kanishka's are not there, and showing same monogram as his mature figures of Huvishka.

Some coins with mature figure of Huvishka, closely resemble coins of Vāsudeva I, in script and style. B/w these 2 series are coins with Huvishka as a youth.

Elephant rider as token of Indian conquest.

cal in style and fabric with a "late" issue of Kanishka (Coins 36, 80), as are the letter types and monogram (4). Compared to the Vima coin, this image is far less resplendent, for the king's enlarged scale reduces the elephant to a dwarf size.

TYPE II. King seated cross-legged. Coin 44.

King seated cross-legged upon convention for rocks or clouds; faces r. and holds in r. hand staff with apparently bird insignia at the top. Wears helmet with diadem and mantle.

Legend from 7:00: SHAONANOSHAO O//OERKO KOSHANO SHAO.

A long tradition for royal portraits in this form goes back to earlier issues of Maucs, Azes II, and Kujula. Note the absence of flames emanating from shoulders or halo, as also in Type I above.

TYPE III. Galamucha type. Coins 46, 47.

Profile bust of king to l. wearing rounded helmet with circular device at side, crest ornament and pronged symbol at forehead. King has heavy sideburns (galamucha) and prominent wart. Wears jeweled yoke and loose tunic. Carries in r. hand short mace, in l. añkuśa. Bust emerges from rocklike or cloudlike forms. Flaming shoulders occur, but are not uniform on all issues.

Legend from 7:00: SHAONANOSHAO O//OERKI KOSHANO.

The ARDOXSHO reverse and monogram (4) continue the linkage with Kanishka's issues. The obverse portrait with rounded shoulders and heavy sideburns gives the effect of an aged man, although this may not have been the engraver's intent. Nonetheless, the portrait was executed with a certain suavity and authority of style. Note that the spelling of the king's name has changed from OOERKO to OOERKI.

The face of the king here and in subsequent Huvishka issues has a prominent wart over the left cheek near the ear. It might be considered a trivial feature singled out by the artist in order to enhance the illusionistic properties of the portrait, but I believe that it has another significance. Kanishka, when shown facing left, also has a prominent wart on his face (Coins 36, 38, 116); so does Vima, in the same place, although it is less prominent (Coins 25, 156). This must have been a kind of inherited imperfection, a dynastic lakshana, a sign of legitimacy, for warts appear also on the foreheads of Parthian kings beginning with Gotarzes I and continuing off and on throughout the later stages of the dynasty (see Coins 297, 298). The epigraph of Huvishka's time at Māt refers to Huvishka's grandfather and discusses the origins of Kushan authority; these warts may be one more indication of concern with the inherited right to rule. Strangely enough, the warts do not appear on the coins of Vāsudeva or of any of his successors. Also, Huvishka is shown unbearded. From the time of Huvishka until the Kushano-Sasanian coins, no more beards appear in Kushan issues, although they can be seen in Kushan donor imagery.

Wart over left cheek, near the ear, in Vima, Kanishka, Kanishka, and Huvishka: inherited imperfection of a dynasty or a dynastic trait? (See wart on forehead of some Arsacid rulers from Gotarzes onwards.)

Warts from Kanishka onwards are unbearded

TYPE IIIa. Coin 48.

As Type III, except that king faces r. R. hand continues to hold mace, l. the añkuśa.

TYPE IV. Huvishka Monogram. Coins 49, 50.

Royal portrait close to that of Type III except that execution generally coarser and less descriptive.

Legend as in Type III.

Mon. 7.

The coarsening of the portrait seems to be a noteworthy fact, coupled with the introduction of a new monogram (7) which will be characteristic of the Huvishka coinage henceforth. The first three types had employed the Kanishka monogram (4).

TYPE IVa. Coin 51.

Obverse as in Type IIIa above, except for a much clumsier fabric.

Legend as in Type III.

Mon. 7.

TYPE IVb. Coins 52-55.

Obverse similar to III above except that portrait much less descriptive or stylistically powerful, clouds reduced in importance. Coins 53 and 55 have flaming shoulders.

Legend as in Type III.

Mon. 7.

The reverse deities are crudely and hastily executed.

TYPE V. Close-up profile. Coin 56.

Enlarged profile portrait bust of king to l. Has wart, untidy sideburns.

Headdress with rows of jewels, diadem, and top crest. Wears jeweled yoke, has flaming shoulders, wears loose, pull-over tunic.

Legend from 7:00: SHAONANOSHAKO//OOERKI KOSH . . .

Mon. 7.

A common die was used for the reverse MIRO type here (Coin 56) and also for Coin 50, Type IV above, which must link them closely in date.

SECOND GROUP

TYPE VI. Youthful portrait. Coins 57, 58, 59.

Profile portrait of king to l. R. hand holds mace, l. holds goad or sword pommel. Helmet similar to that in Type V, diadem decorated with lattice-like effect. King wears sideburns.

Legend from 7:00 as in Type III.

Mon. 7.

The portrait here seems more slender and youthful than any other bearing

Huvishka's name. Göbl suggests, however, that this series was issued considerably later than any of the previous types and that it constitutes a major group in Huvishka's coinage.⁸ Some of the reverse images are quite barbarous and the legends apparently misunderstood by the engravers (e.g., Coins 196-204).

THIRD GROUP

TYPE VII. Horned headdress. Coins 60, 61, 62.

Bust profile of king in full regalia to l. Nimbate, has flaming shoulders (missing on some coins). Wears forward-pointing cap. Carries spear in l. hand which is almost rudimentary in scale; bears mace in r. hand. Wears an ornament around upper arm. Tunic decorated with lozenge-shaped patterns.

Legend from 7:00 as in Type III.

This portrait has a full repertory of symbols of imperial power. There is no way of knowing whether the king wears sideburns beneath the ear-flaps of his helmet—the sideburns which distinguish the portraits in the previous groups. The reverse types have crisp, clearly delineated style, figures standing out distinctly from the background.

TYPE VIII. Coin 63.

Royal portrait as in VII above, except that helmet lacks distinctive horn.

King wears tunic with rolled lapels and lacks mantle.

Legend as in VII above.

TYPE VIIIa. Coins 64-68.

Similar to VIII except that king notably more robust and heavier. Also, wears a mantle over shoulders. See also Type IXa.

This series includes the interesting examples of an obverse die which became damaged, its flaw becoming increasingly worse until the legend had to be recut in part. This in turn inspired a clever forgery (Coin 67) which gave rise to the erroneous notion that Huvishka holds a bird standard in his hand.

TYPE IX. Round helmet. Coins 69-71.

Very similar in style and fabric to Type VIII except that helmet not pointed but round in profile. Tunic with rolled lapels and held by double clasp. Supernatural emanations from shoulders vary from usual flames to mandorla with inner rays about shoulder. All images nimbate.

TYPE IXa. Coin 72.

Similar to IX except that royal visage is considerably heavier. King has very long hair. Type IXa is to Type IX as VIIIa is to VIII.

TYPE IXb. ERAKLO reverse. Coin 73.

Royal portrait identical with those of Type IX except king shown full body in cross-legged seated position with flaming shoulders.

This coin is thus far unique in both its obverse and reverse types, the only appearance of Herakles in Kushan gold (in copper he is not rare) and the only appearance of the full figure of the king in the later gold issues of Huvishka. It is similar to some extent to Type II.

TYPE X. Low helmet. Coin 74.

Royal portrait similar to sanguine ones in Types VIIIa and IXa but distinguished by low cap above forehead and which must be nearly same as worn by Kanishka (Coin 35).

Legend from 7:00.

TYPE XI. King with turban. Coin 75.

Bust of king to r., nimbate, wearing turban with twisted streamers to l.

Mustache and galamucha, almost to chin, giving effect of beard. Hair in braids behind ears. L. hand holds staff with globelike finials tied with ribbons; r. holds conventional short mace. Costume similar to that in Coin 66.

Legend from 7:00 as in Type III.

This unique gold coin in the Staatliche Münzsammlung, Munich, is the only image to my knowledge of a Kushan king wearing an Indian regal turban,⁹ which seems to be made of intertwining rolls of cloth rather than the usual wide bands of flat cloth. The reverse image of PHARRO seems almost identical in style to that of Coin 179, and the obverse portraits are also similar to each other. It thus belongs among the last stages in the Huvishka coinage. Note that the braided hair of the royal portrait also appears in Kushano-Sassanian coins (Coins 256, 257).

HUVISHKA'S OBERSE TYPES ON COPPER COINS

A thorough study of Kushan copper coinage in general has yet to be published—scholars' attention has naturally been centered on the much better-preserved gold coins. Recently, however, David W. MacDowall of the British Museum, in analyzing the weights of copper issues of Huvishka, has detected three distinct chronological groups on the basis of a striking decrease in weight standard and change in monogram.¹⁰ He is cautious about interpreting the significance of this apparent division, accepting the possibility only of there having been three separate stages in the issues of Huvishka or else three separate mint centers.

Among the extensive copper issues of Huvishka are some interesting and unique obverse types as well as those which repeat the motifs of his gold coins.

TYPE A. Elephant rider. Coin 43

Obverse as in Type I above; however, several of H. H. Wilson's drawings include plain or radiate nimbus.¹¹

Mon. 7.

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TYPE B. King in position of ease. Coins 76, 77.

King lounging on low bench, resting l. elbow on cushion and r. foot on bench. Wears long pantaloons and tunic. Seems to be holding tall object shaped like rhyton cup, but this is never very clear.

This reclining position, the only informal royal pose found in Kushan dynastic arts, must have been derived from its very common occurrence in the Greco-Parthian arts of western Asia; it can be found at Palmyra, Dura, Hatra, Tang-i-Sarwak.

In one A. Huvishka shown reclining on a low couch, believed to be the only in general royal pose found in Kushan dynastic arts.

TYPE C. King seated cross-legged. Coin 45.
Mon. 7.

Close adaptation of Type II above.

TYPE D. King seated on cushions. Coin 78.

King in Indo-Scythian dress seated cross-legged on cushion-like structure. Rests l. elbow on smaller cushion; holds mace in r. hand. Head with low round cap seen in profile.

Mon. 7.

TYPE E. King squatting. Coin 79.

King seated in squatting position frontally, head profile to r. and of enlarged scale. Holds staff in l. hand, wears jeweled forward-pointing cap.

Mon. 7.

TYPE F. King in prayer before goddess. Reverse type. Coin 78.
Mon. 7.

This rare reverse type is known through Cunningham only (*Numismatic Chronicle*, 1892, pp. 117-118) in coins now lost. A kneeling figure, presumably the king, is shown in obeisance before NANA, indicated by her long staff with animal protome.

King kneeling before Nana on reverse of coin specimen published by Cunningham.

HEADRESS FOUND IN KUSHAN COINS ONLY

The complex regalia worn in the coin portraits of Huvishka indicate a high degree of development of regal pomp. The most noteworthy elements are the helmets, several types of which are found in Huvishka's coins (as well as in Vima's and Kanishka's) but are not reflected in the carvings of the Kushan-shahr. The symbolic value of the various parts of these helmets is quite obscure, and in fact their design is not always perfectly comprehensible (see Text Figure 6). Nevertheless, the cumulative effect of this headgear, together with suggestions of ornate tunics, is that of a sumptuous taste which evokes the

Gen. features of headress

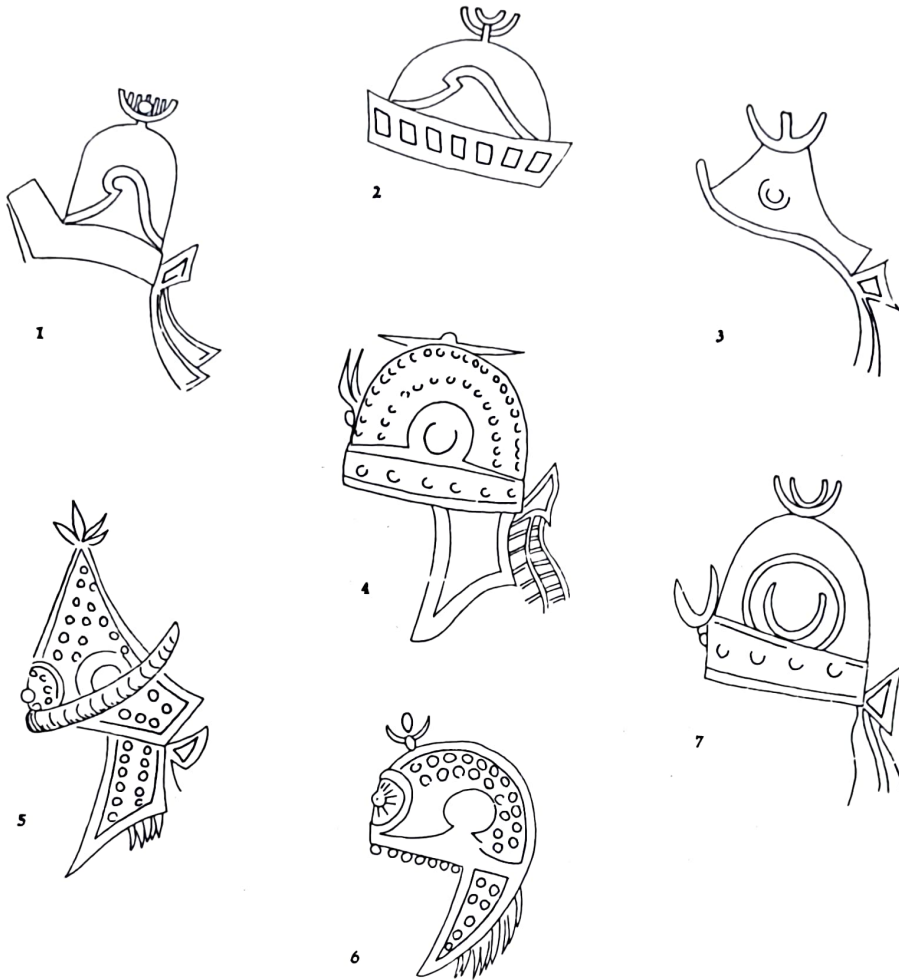


Fig. 6. Helmets worn by Kushan princes as shown on their coins.

memory of the opulence of Assyrian kingship and which is paralleled by the Hatra and Kommagene royal images (see, for example, Figures 136-138, 154; Chapter VII).

1. Tall domed cylindrical helmet with strange forward-protruding bill. Has wavelike raised insignia on sides and a noteworthy crest ornament. Vima only (Coins 21, 23).

2. Low cap with (?) jeweled brim. Wavelike design on side. Crest ornament. Kanishka I only, his most common type (Coins 36, 38).

3. Low cap with pointed top, similar in shape to Phrygian type except that it seems to be rigid. Circular ornaments on side, crest ornament on top. Kanishka I and Huvishka (Coins 34, 35, 74).

4. Narrow helmet, symmetrically rounded at crest, basically similar to Parthian helmet of Mithradates II. Has, however, insignia at forehead, made apparently of feather and jewel. Pearled ornament around crest, circular object (lunar design ?) on side. Restricted to Huvishka (Coins 50, 72).

5. Tall pointed cap with angular protrusion to rear. Has straight horn, like that of ibex, coming from above forehead and pointing back and up. Quadrangular side flaps connected under chin. Without horn, same cap also used by Huvishka, Vasudeva I, and Kanishka III (Coins 60, 61).

6. Similar to 4 except that it has triangular pointed flaps on each side which join under chin. Forehead device perfectly circular, may have been wheel-like design with jeweled hub. Has crest ornament, pearls distributed over the sides and as fringe at forehead and side flaps (Coins 71, 73, 86).

7. Rounded helmet, not unlike 1 above, but having two-pronged device at forehead instead of bill. Has what seems to be open circular design on side; also a crest ornament and a pearled band or diadem. (Coins 47, 52).

THE KUSHAN CREST ORNAMENT

Beginning with Vima's, Kushan coins show a system of crest ornaments similar to, if much simpler than, those of the Sasanids. It is difficult to find clear impressions, because these ornaments appear at a point near the flan of the coins, where they can be confused with the legend or where a coin is most likely to be clipped or worn and the design affected when struck off center. The devices appear with consistency and meaningful forms in the coins of Vima and Kanishka, less so with those of Huvishka and Vasudeva, as though they quickly became unimportant (Text Figure 6).

1. Vima's device is of two sorts, both having four vertical uprights arising from a regular arc shape. In one type, a globe supports two of the uprights; the globe is absent in the other type (Text Figure 6.1).

2. Kanishka's device is two concentric arcs held by a vertical upright. It occurs on his early *BASILEUS* types as well as the later Shaononoshao ones. The coin monograms of all Kushan kings have one element in common: the four vertical lines which arise from a horizontal line below which the monograms change from ruler to ruler. The device of Vima's head-dress seems related to the symbolic intention of the monograms, but with Kanishka, the form changes (Text Figure 6.2, 3).

3. Huvishka's coins, through all his different age levels, have some kind of crest ornament; but they are never very clear or coherent, and they seem to be overshadowed by the other insignia placed on his helmets (Text Figure 6.4-7).

4. With Vāsudeva, the deterioration appears to be complete; although through his and later Kushan coins a vague and formless device does appear regularly at the top crest of the helmets.

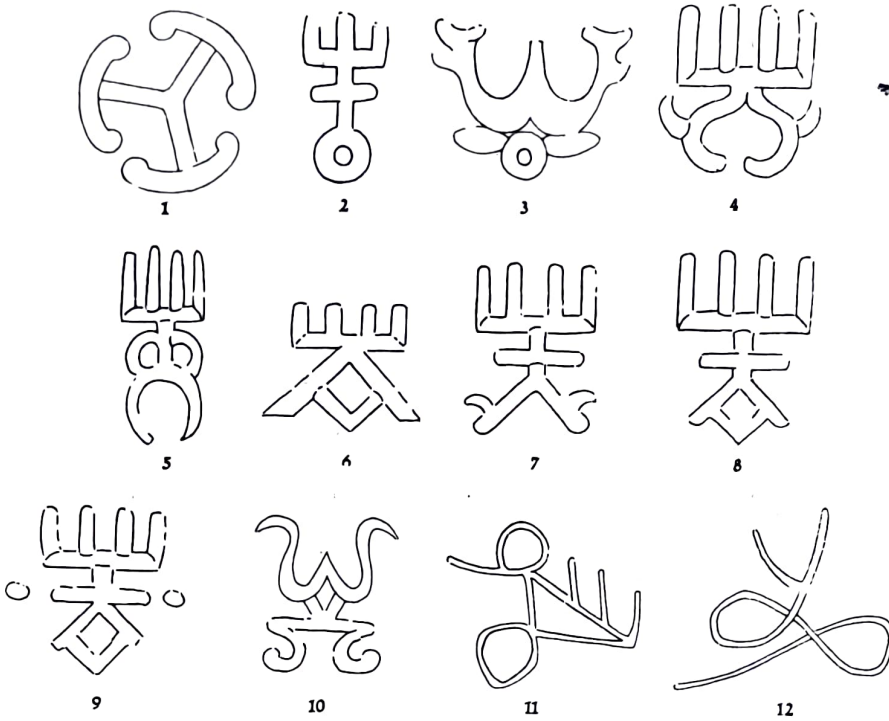


Fig. 7. Monograms on Kushan coins, seals, and inscriptions.

DEITIES ON THE COINS OF KANISHKA AND HUVISHKA

The deities shown on the coins of Kanishka and Huvishka reveal one of the most extraordinary facets of the dynasty: its broad cultural horizon, its habit of religious syncretism. There are about thirty-three different divinities named on these coins, although some of them have overlapping functions or express different shades of emphasis of the same divine office. This is a pantheon drawn from Rome and Alexandria, from the Hellenized Orient, Iran, and India, and the reasons for its prolixity have never been conclusively established.

A common explanation of the matter is that the coins were minted for

*33 deities on
Kushan coins
(Kanishka? and
Huvishka?).*

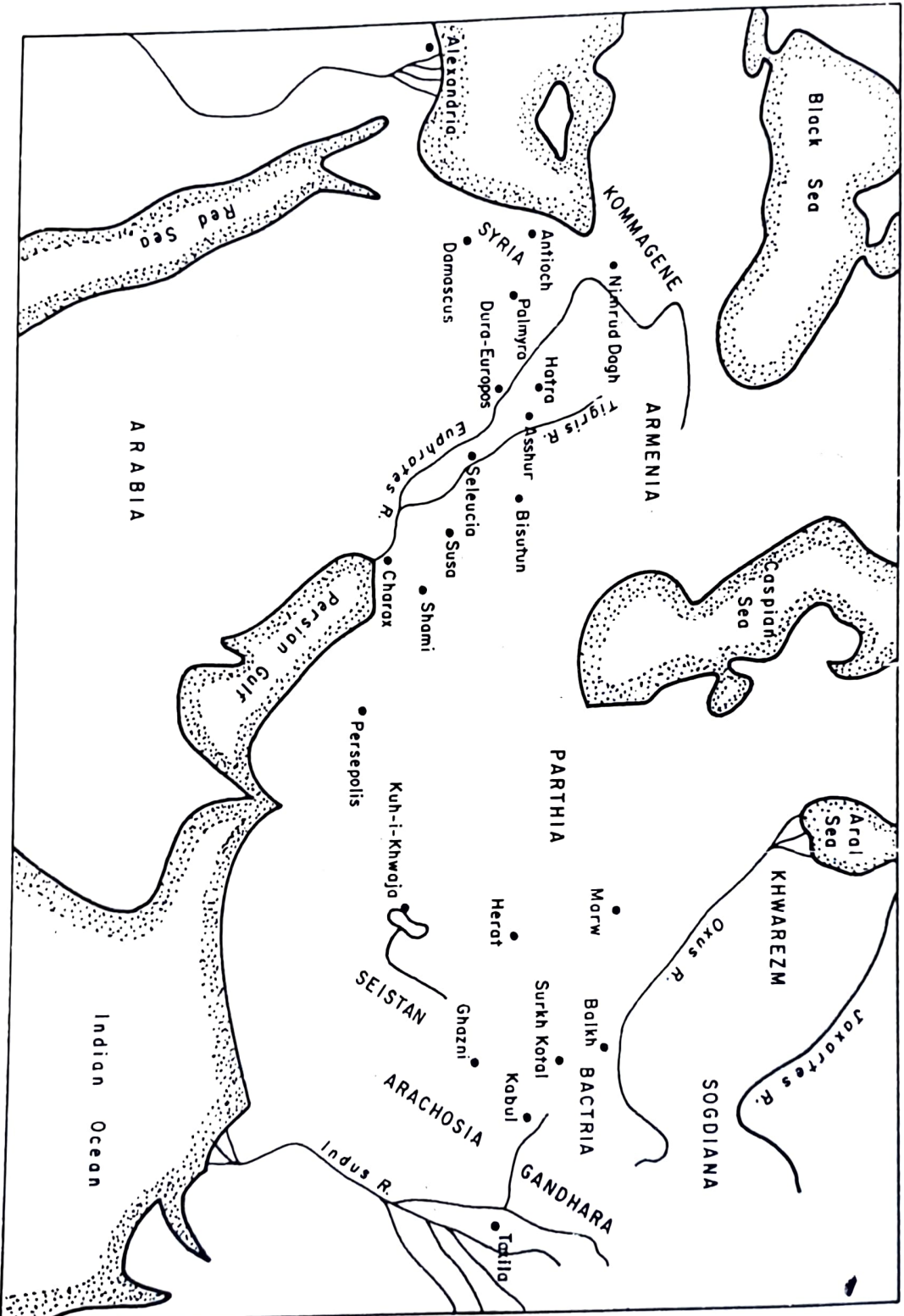
to be searched

*Chapter IV
Religious
Aspects*

foreign trade and thus reflected the beliefs of external trade zones, particularly Characene, at the head of the Persian Gulf, where a few Kushan coins were found in a certain hoard.¹² However, this theory should be rejected on the general grounds that the Kushanshahr enjoyed a favorable trade balance, as shown in Chapter II, and thus exported little specie. Another explanation has been that the coins reflected the various ethnic or ideological communities within the polyglot Kushan Empire;¹³ but it is difficult in this instance to explain the rarity of Buddhist emblems in the face of the patent evidence of the affluence of Buddhism within the Kushanshahr or the absence of Jaina deities when it is certain that both Mathurā and Taxila were important Jaina centers. It is also difficult to explain the absence of the ubiquitous Indian form for the solar deity in his *attelage déployée* (discussed below, Chapter VIII), or of Śrī Lakṣmī, who had already appeared on Śaka coins (Coin 274) but whose functions were assumed by Iranic deities on the Kushan coins. In general, I shall develop the hypothesis in this and succeeding chapters that most of these deities were the *Kushan comes augustii*—the divine companions and supporters of the monarchy—the coinage functioning as a vehicle of royal propaganda, a direct expression of the ideology of the ruling house.

The detailed religious connotations of the deities symbolized on these small coins are generally quite obscure—in certain instances they are little more than names, with no congruent textual sources to expand their meanings. But there can be little doubt that cumulatively they reflect what one would expect a dynastic pantheon of this period to express: concern with material abundance and prosperity, with military triumph, with legitimacy of rule, and with the divine sanction and support of the ruling house.

In this time and place, coinage was a more potent instrument for the expression of ideas than it is today. Beyond their essential role in economic exchange, coins had the ability to repeat in great numbers the ideas conveyed by their symbolic motifs—the mass dissemination of motifs entirely comparable to that of printing if more limited in its range of expressive possibilities.¹⁴ Coinage was the prerogative of the sovereign power; its value (as always) a reflection of the economic prowess and control of the state; coins filtered down through the most influential strata of society, playing a role in daily transactions and bearing the imprimatur of the state, reflecting its ideals and basic values—a tangible reflection, however small, of the dominant organizing force in secular society. Thus we may imagine the impact of Kushan gold coinage upon a subcontinent which had become accustomed to increasingly debased local silver issues—coins which on the obverse proclaimed the charismatic power of the foreign ruler, and on the reverse the divine sources of his power, coins which exceeded in bullion worth the imported aurei of Imperial Rome, and coins which even showed deities from that Western realm among the supporters of the Kushan monarchy.



Map 2. India and Western Asia

A study of the reverse types on the coins of Kanishka and Huvishka produces the following rough grouping of deities in terms of their general cultural ambient (those marked with an asterisk are the most commonly found, those with a dash are notably rare):

Hellenistic or Roman

- Herakles
- Helios
- Hephaistos
- Roma ? (Rishno)
- Salene
- Serapis

Indian

- Buddha
- *Oesho (Siva)
- Mahāsena
- Skanda-Kumāra
- Vishākha

Iranian

- *Ardoxsho
- *Athsho
- Ashaeixsho
- Loraspo
- Manaobago
- *Mao
- Mazdah
- *Mithra
- *Nana (Nanaia)
- Oado
- Oanindo
- Oaxsho
- Odiio
- Orlagno
- *Pharro
- Rishno
- Sharevar

Deities from the Iranian culture sphere predominate in these coins of Kanishka and Huvishka. The deities themselves are, however, strangely mixed, for they seem to have come from different levels of religious experience. Some of them—especially the highly abstract Ameša Spentas—were based on the ethical doctrines of Zoroastrianism, the orthodox traditions of the Magi. Others seem to reflect a more popular form of Mazdaism, rooted in such nature deities as MAO and NANAIA, who were popular in eastern Iran. In contrast to the rigid orthodoxy of most Sasanian kings, the Kushans may have had an attitude rather similar to that of the early Arsacids, who supported the popular cults yet permitted the Magi to maintain their holy fires and ancient traditions.

These coins reveal what must have been the religious beliefs of the Kushan ruling class as these beliefs touched upon its theory of statecraft. The Iranian gods are, however, rarely found elsewhere in the arts of the empire, because Buddhism was the only organized religion there to produce cult imagery in large numbers. Thus, when these Iranian deities appear in the sculpture of the Kushanshahr, it is often in the form in which they had been integrated into the Buddhist faith. The wind god OADO is shown as an attendant figure in a Buddhist frieze (Figure 76); ARDOXSHO must have been correlated with the

Indian goddess Hārītī, just as Pharos was correlated with Kubera-Pāñcika (Figures 61, 62, 75, 78).

On the coins of Kanishka and Huvishka, deities are emphasized who otherwise did not become part of the religious imagery of the empire. And this suggests, perhaps, that the taste and interests of the Kushan princes were somewhat at variance with that of their subjects, as might be expected in a feudal social order imposed by foreign invaders. It seems likely that there was also a level of cultivated taste apart from that of the Kushan nobility, a level of the standard patrons of the Buddhist Church—merchants, bankers, caravaners, minor officials. These were persons who had had a more prolonged and intimate awareness of the Hellenic tastes of the Indo-Greek and Indo-Parthian princes than did the Kushans. From Gandhāra to Kāpiśa, this more indigenous social situation may have provided the main impetus for the high degree of pro-Hellenic or pro-Roman orientation in the arts. The Kushan nobility, on the other hand, seems to have modeled its dress and beliefs on those of the Parthian courts, our most authentic visual images of which still come from coins and the arts of the "fringe" cities of Hatra, Dura, and Palmyra.

Nonetheless, Kushan coinage is far more Roman than Parthian in style and fabric. It reveals a close awareness of Roman Imperial issues. Whereas the Sakas and Indo-Parthians had perpetuated Indo-Greek coin traditions with a relatively limited repertory of Hellenic divinities (Zeus, Herakles, Poseidon, Artemis, Tyche, Coins 267-284), Kanishka and Huvishka's coins present a much fuller panoply of deities, symptomatic of the spirit of religious syncretism in the Roman Orient and in Rome itself. The Kushan royal coin portraits lack the idealizing qualities of the portraits of the Indo-Greek princes, and they share something of the naïve, almost artless characterizations of Nero or Vespasian—particularly in portraits of Huvishka. Similarly, the Kushans, like the Romans, showed most deities on their coins with a spirit of remarkable emotional detachment, the figures being usually small in scale, depersonalized, identifiable chiefly by means of their legends or symbolic attributes. They are not aesthetically expressive images.

An analysis of the goddess NANA (or NANAIA) has yielded a characteristic picture of the peculiar religious and art historical aspects of the Kushan pantheon. A definitive discussion of all these deities would be a major independent task, many of the problems being strictly philological in nature or best solved by a historian of Indian and Iranian religions.¹⁶ The identification or interpretation of certain deities is still unsatisfactory, notably MANAOBAGO. The literary bases for the cult of Iranian deities in this period and region are uncertain, and the scholarly literature is still in a somewhat speculative stage. Some features of these small icons are most challenging, such as the double-headed horse of Ahura Mazdah, the masculine form of the moon god, the three male figures whose function is now taken by one Hindu deity, Kārttikeya. The fol-

lowing analysis of the pantheon is arranged alphabetically, but variant names of a deity are listed after the main entry.¹⁰

1. ARDOXSHO

Kanishka (Coin 80). Male (?) standing to r., nimbate, wears fillet. Dressed in double robe. In l. hand carries cornucopia with sheafs of grain emerging from mouth.

Huvishka

- a (Coin 46). Exactly as in Kanishka's type
- b (Coin 81). Deity clearly female, with evident breasts. Guise more classical in spirit than a. Figure posed more gracefully.
- c (Coin 82). Female standing to l., hair draped down shoulder. Holds cornucopia in r. hand.

One of the most important of all the deities on Kushan coins, ARDOXSHO, with NANA (14 below), was the feminine embodiment of the principle of abundance and prosperity, and the two deities should be considered together. ARDOXSHO became a constant element in the later Kushan coins minted south of the Hindu Kush, shown seated frontally on a high-backed throne, dressed in flowing robes, holding a cornucopia and diadem (Coins 237-241), a version which is strangely absent from the issues of Kanishka and Huvishka. Both versions were apparently derived from the Hellenic images of the standing or enthroned Tychae or Demeter used by the Indo-Creek and Saka predecessors of the Kushans (Coins 266, 279); but the seated style alone persisted into Gupta coinage, converted into an emblem of Śrī-Lakṣmī.

ARDOXSHO and PHARRO are the only Kushan coin types faithfully reflected in large numbers of free-standing sculpture (e.g., Figure 78; see also Chapters VIII and IX). They are paired in an interesting Kushan seal (Seal 3, Text Figure 13).

The name ARDOXSHO is found only on Kushan coins, and its identification has presented great difficulties. Among philologists, there seem to be two schools of thought. The first can be represented by H. W. Bailey, who analyzed the name into the equivalent of the Old Persian Rti(š)vahvī, the Avestic A(r)ši-Oaxsho, to be rendered probably as the "Genius of Fate or Recompense."¹⁷ As such, ARDOXSHO would be a prominent member of the Avestic pantheon. The Aṣi Yašt (Yašt XVII) describes her as the daughter of Ahura Mazdah, as the sister of Sraoša, Rašnu, Mithra.¹⁸ She brings heavenly wisdom to men: "The men who thou dost attend . . . are kings of kingdoms that are rich in horses . . . [she brings] all sorts of desirable things"—jeweled furniture, beautiful women, offspring, chariots, swift arrows, sturdy camels, hoards of gold and silver, and victory. In later literature she is equated with the resplendent glory of the Kayan kings (i.e., the Kavaem Khwareno), which corresponds perfectly with her Indian metamorphosis as Śrī-Lakṣmī and her being paired with PHARRO in Gandhāran sculpture and the Kushan seal.

The other school of thought may be represented by Janos Harmatta, who has criticized Bailey's identification on phonetic grounds and suggested that ARDOXSHO was a local eastern Iranian goddess of water and moisture, basically related to the great Iranian deity Anāhitā (see 14, below).¹⁹ Harmatta analyzed the name as Ardvī Vaxša, the first word being one of the components of the name Ardvī (Sūra) Anāhitā, the second term being one used generically for moisture and water, from which perhaps OAXSHO (18 below), guardian of the Oxus, was derived. As evidence of the local nature of the deity, he cites the name bg'rd w'xš, described in a Manichaean text as the deity who is a "frontier guard of Khurāsān," and points out that there is in Ptolemy (VI.18.5) reference to a place name in the Paropamisadae βαγαρδα. He mentions the hypothesis that Ardvī (Sūra) Anāhitā was a goddess of eastern Iranian origin (see below, n. 74). Other scholars have identified Anāhitā with the Kushan goddess NANA, but the issue might be simplified by pointing out that the Kushan goddesses seem to express different permutations of the principle of abundance: ARDOXSHO is responsible for the matter in a political, dynastic, and national sense, NANA perhaps in a natural sense (rainfall, abundant crops and herds). It seems significant also that in Iran the goddess Anāhitā, as represented in the scene of the investiture of Khosroes II at Taq-i-Bustan, is symbolically given both functions. She holds in her right hand a circlet, the emblem of Khosroes' authority, and in the other she holds a vase from which waters are pouring (Pope, SPA, Pl. 160b).

Therefore, whatever problems are involved in the etymology of the name ARDOXSHO, the treatment of her in Kushan coins and sculpture is varied enough so that her ideological content is clear. As discussed in Chapter VIII, her function must have been close to those of the Greek Tyche, the Roman Fortuna, and the Indian Śrī-Lakshmi.

2. ASHAEIXSHO

Huvishka only (Coin 84). Male deity standing to l., radiate nimbus. Dressed in short tunic and knee boots, mantle held at chest by round clasp. R. hand held straight out, first two fingers in strange hand gesture employed also by HELIOS and MIRO below—it also appears in an Indo-Scythian donative relief (Fig. 123). ASHAEIXSHO is unarmed.

Coins of this type are exceedingly rare, yet this is an important element in the Iranian pantheon, the third among the Amesha Spentas. He is Aša-Vahišta, meaning probably "multitudes of truths" or "truth which is best," the smiter of death, of fiends and illness. He, the subject of the third Yašt (*Ardibehišt Yašt*), is the embodiment of truth for the souls of the righteous; those who invoke him will not forfeit heaven.²⁰ Called the Bright Aša, he is said to receive prayers intended for Ahura Mazda, serving thus as a divine intermediary.²¹ In prayers he is often invoked together with other deities, with Vohu

Mano (see 10 below) for the gain of earthly goods, but most frequently with Atar, personification of fire.²²

3. ATSHO

Kanishka (Coin 85). Bearded male standing to l., wears fillet with some kind of device at forehead and fluttering ends. Flames emanate from shoulders. Holds a fillet in r. hand; l. hand rests on hips; wears long robe with sleeves, boots, and mantle.

Huvishka (Coins 86, 87) bearded male standing to r., wears band around head; flames around shoulders and head. Carries tongs in l. hand, hammer in r. Wears classically draped chlamys.

In Kanishka's coins the personification is almost identical with that of his EPHAISTOS type (6, below), the deity being probably the same but having separate Greek and Iranian names.

In the Avesta the deity is Atar, son of Ahura Mazda, personification of fire and a full source of Royal Glory (Kavaem Khvareno). In prayers he is closely associated with Aša-Vahišta (the ASHAEIXSHO of Huvishka's coins).²³ His name has historically been used for royal fires—for example, Ātur Gušnasp or Ātur Farnbag.²⁴

In Iran he was worshiped as a fully recognized deity, as a doorkeeper to admit or reject souls in heaven. In Western Mithraism he was identified with Hephaistos,²⁵ clearly paralleled by Kanishka's EPHAISTOS type or the Pahlavi commentary on Ātašnyayīš: "Bodily he is infirm; spiritually he is a warrior."²⁶

Iconographically, the fully flaming shoulders recall Kushan period images of Agni from Mathurā.²⁷ Regarding the tongs and hammer, Venúś XIV.7 lists the implements for the kindling and care of a sacred fire, including a broom, tongs, bellows, adze, and saw.²⁸ Nevertheless, the icon must have been derived from a classical image of Hephaistos, for which there are earlier traces in Śaka coinage (PMC no. 369, copper of Azes II, Hephaistos with scepter, tongs, and hammer).

4. BODDO

Kanishka (Coin 88). Male standing totally *en face*, with nimbus about head and aureole about body. Has prominent ushṇisha and elongated ears. L. hand holds lap of saṃghāti. R. hand probably in abhaya mudrā. Face too worn to be distinguishable.

This is the first unmistakable image of the Buddha on coins, aesthetically a positive and coherent statement. Although it would be hazardous to establish parallels in monumental sculpture of the time for such a unique and tiny icon, nevertheless this image has certain distinct qualities which could only have been derived from large-scale sculpture—it was not the invention of a mint master. The figure shows none of the *contrapposto* which can be found on other Kanishkan coin reverses; the garment folds obscure the sense of the underlying forms of the body and are symmetrically arranged along the center

axis of the body; the ushṇisha is prominent and wide; the saṃghāti folds about the neck in a heavy, collar-like fashion. The coin illustrated here was found in the reliquary deposit of the stūpa of Ahin-Posh near Jelālābād.²⁹

4a. SAKAMANOBOSDO

Kanishka, only in copper

- a (Coin 89). Male standing totally *en face*, hands in uncertain gesture. Nimbate but lacks mandorla present in BOSDO type above. Garments reveal underlying structure of the body. Legend reads in boustrophedon order from 11:00.
- b Male figure seated entirely frontally; seated position clumsily indicated in manner similar to that of Vima in Coin 20.³⁰ Legend as in a.
- c As b, but legs make distinct pediment shape, arms in uncertain position.³¹

The Buddha here is particularized as Śākyamuni, implying the possibility of others—a familiar theological and iconographic concept.

4b. BAGOBOŚDO

Kanishka, copper only.³² Male figure seated in Buddhist padmāsana, r. hand in the abhaya mudrā.

Legend, somewhat unclear, indicates "Buddha the deity" (in Iranian terms = *bhagavat* in Sanskrit).

5. ELIOS

Kanishka only (Coins 90, 31). Male figure standing to l.; radiate nimbus; r. hand in peculiar two-fingered gesture frequently found elsewhere in this coinage. L. hand resting on hilt of short sword. Wears diadem, long tunic, ankle boots, mantle held by single round clasp.

Except for the Greek name of the deity, this is identical to the MIRO type (12, below). As with the EPHAISTOS and ATHSHO, SALENE and MAO, NANAIA and NANA coins, the same deity is represented under two names. With one exception, the ELIOS coins are restricted to the Basileus issues. Interestingly, so late an Indian text as the *Bhaviṣhya-purāṇa* calls the Sun God (usually Sūrya) Heli and his realm Heliloka.³³ Solar imagery in the Kushanshahr is further discussed in Chapter VIII.

6. EPHAISTOS

Kanishka only (Coin 91). Unique and damaged example, but apparently identical in form and content to Kanishka's ATHSHO type (3) above.

7. ERAKLO

Huvishka only (Coins 73, 92). Unique example in gold. Nude bearded man standing to l. R. hand holds a large knurled club, which rests on the ground; holds lion's pelt over l. arm and apple in l. hand. Figure stocky and muscular. Note that obverse type is also unique in Huvishka's gold coinage. The copper coin illustrated here shows Herakles with club resting against l. shoulder.

These coins bring to mind the Mathurā carving of Herakles and the Nemean Lion, now in the Indian Museum,³⁴ or the Kushan seal showing the hero wrestling with the man-eating mare of Diomedes (Seal 5, Text Figure 8). These all reveal an awareness of that Greek demigod whose cult had spread so widely into Western and Central Asia in late Hellenistic and Roman times. At Nimrud-Dagh and especially at Hatra, there is ample evidence that Herakles had become a popular deity of manly vigor and had probably been assimilated



Fig. 8. Seal 5. Herakles and a horse of Diomedes. Impression from Kushan seal.

with indigenous gods (Figures 142, 154). Monneret de Villard has shown that, iconographically, the stocky figure with his club resting on the ground (as in Coin 73) appears, not as a heritage from the Indo-Greeks, but rather as a type derived from Western Asia,³⁵ a point which is borne out by the Hatra Herakles (Fig. 142), or the Herakles-Serapis figure found at Begram (Figure 97b), imported from the eastern part of the Roman Empire. The Huvishkan copper coins, however, followed the pattern of the local Indo-Greek prototypes (Coin 263).

8. LROOASPO

Kanishka (Coins 38, 93). Bearded male standing frontally but turning to r. Wears diadem, tunic, and boots; holds diadem in r. hand. Behind him in profile to r. is a horse with its l. foreleg off the ground.

Huvishka (Coin 94). Similar but cruder in style of engraving. Deity is nimbate; hands are not clear, although l. hand seems to be proffering something to horse. Horse has both l. foreleg and l. rear leg off the ground.

The coin legend unquestionably reads LROOASPO, with an initial "L". However, certain scholars have interpreted this as DROOASPO—the deity Druvāspā, the guardian of the health of beasts.³⁶ This is in harmony with the apparent meaning of the coin symbol (deity with horse); moreover, in eastern Iranian tongues frequently an initial "L" would seem to represent a "D". Druvāspā is preëminently a feminine deity, although a masculine form of the name does appear.³⁷

Another, and perhaps more cogent, possibility is the figure Apām Napat,

"the grandson of the waters," a fluvial deity who in Western Mithraism was associated with Neptune—an aquatic element which does not appear in the Kushan coins.³⁸ However, in the Avesta, he is given the epithet *Aurvāt-aspa*, "possessing swift horse" (Yāšt XIX.51), which is also applied to Mithra (Yāšt X.iv.13.3). *Apām Napāt* was associated with Mithra (and also *Druvāspā*), and was concerned with the preservation of *Khvareno*, the legitimate authority of princes. This might account for the act of proffering the diadem in Kanishka's coins, an act remarkably similar to that found on the unfinished relief from Surkh Kotal (Figure 123).

9. MAASENO

Huvishka only (Coin 95). Male standing entirely *en face*. Nimbate, dressed in tunic or *saṃghāti*, mantle; wears short sword on l. hip; in r. hand holds a standard with bird finial and ribbons.

Mahāsena is an epithet of the Hindu war god *Kārttikeya* or *Skanda*, whose cult can be detected in India as early as the Mauryan period and whose emblem was a peacock. He seems to have been particularly important to the *Yaudheyas*, a native Indian tribal group who probably contested with the Kushans the eastern Panjāb. *Yaudheya* coins bear such legends as "Of Brahmanya [a name of *Kārttikeya*] the divine lord of the *Yaudheyas*" and reverse types not unlike this one of Huvishka (Coin 286).³⁹ And both the *Mahābhārata* and the *Mahāmāyūrī* say that the town of *Rohitaka*, capital of the *Yaudheyas*, was a center of his cult.⁴⁰ A handsome three-quarter life-sized image of this deity was found near *Mathurā*. (Figure 49). It was inscribed in the 11th year of the later Kushan era and dedicated by two brothers who identified themselves as *Kshatriyas*. (This coin is further discussed under 26 below.)

10. MANAOBAGO

Kanishka (Coins 96, 97). Male seated *en face*, but head in profile to r. Wears "Macedonian helmet" like that on Kujula's coin (Coin 8) with tripartite crest ornament. Lunar crescent attached to shoulders. Has four arms: upper l. holds scepter or insigne, lower l. *cakra* with hub and 12 gems, upper r. circlet or torque, lower r. diadem. Sits upon heavily cushioned throne with lion's feet. Wears tunic, belt, and knee boots.

Huvishka (Coins 98, 99). Similar but cruder in design and execution. Helmet has circular element on side like those of Kanishka. Instead of the scepter, he holds spear or arrow, has footstool beneath feet.

The iconographic significance of this figure seems to be centered upon the right to rule, since it bears the torque and diadem as symbols of investiture and the *cakra* probably as an irresistible weapon (*apratihatacakra*). Of all the divinities on the Kushan coins, this is one of the most difficult to relate to religious and literary sources.

The name has suggested the Avestan *Vohu Manah*, foremost of the *Ameša Spentas*, the personification of "Good Mind," of wisdom and under-

standing.⁴¹ Also throughout the Gāthās he is mentioned in terms of imperium (kshathra) which seem relevant to the explicit meaning of the Kushan coin emblem. Thus realm (kshathra) is granted through Vohu Manah as a reward for man's righteousness (Yasna XLVI.10); Vohu Manah is besought to increase Kshathra so that Zoroaster may triumph over the evil Druj (Yasna XXXI.4); Vohu Manah possesses kshathra (Yasna XLVI.16); he will increase the realm of Ahura Mazda (Yasna XXXI.6). In this context Vohu Manah would be for the Kushans a most reasonable coin emblem, appropriate to dynastic symbolism.

One outstanding feature of the Kushan MANAOBAGO is the lunar crescent at his shoulders. A Pahlavi gloss on the Nyāiṣṇ III says that Vohu Manah was the source of the Moon God Māh.⁴² Although there are other occasional references of this sort, a lunar element does not seem to be a basic part of his cult in Iran. Louis Gray has suggested that MANAOBAGO was derived from Maonha-Bago—that is, the Moon God⁴³ but this suggestion would have to be reconciled with the Kushan MAO (11 below), who is certainly the Moon God and a common Kushan coin type.

The Amēša Spentas were relatively bloodless, abstract deities, but Vohu Manah seems to have exerted considerable attraction even outside the Mazdean orthodoxy. His status was exalted in Manichaeism, where he became, as Manvahmēd vazurg, closely bound up with the life principle dwelling in the soul of man, a personification of the Universal Soul—the ideas colored by Vedantic conceptions of ātman and saṃyā brahman.⁴⁴ In the Kushan coins, MANAOBAGO's status is clearly a high one because of his "tantric" guise. His four arms are like those of OESHO-Siva (19 below), an early expression of this basic peculiarity of Indian art: to exalt a deity's powers by symbolizing them with additional heads or arms. The Iranian Vohu Mano remains the most reasonable source for this coin type, although the precise parallel for it in religious literature has not yet been isolated.⁴⁵

11. MAO

Kanishka (Coins 100, 101, 102). Male standing frontally, head in profile to l. Dressed in tunic, mantle, and boots. Lunar crescent behind shoulders. Holds staff with globular finial in crook of l. arm. Usually armed with sword, but this is missing on occasions. R. hand makes distinctive two-fingered gesture.

Huvishka

- a (Coin 103). Unlike Kanishka's types, deity faces r., proffers torque; holds aṅkuśa or sword in l. hand. Retains Kanishka's monogram (4).
- b (Coin 104). Similar in details of style and fabric to Kanishka's type above. However, has Monogram 8, the Huvishka one.
- b² (Coin 105). Same pose, but staff omitted.
- c (Coin 106). Similar to b, but omits two-fingered gesture; rests hand on r. hip.

- c¹ (Coin 107). Staff in r. hand, l. hand on hip.
- d (Coin 108). Same, but proffers circlet with ribbon in r. hand.
- d¹ (Coin 109). Same, but with flaming shoulders.
- d² (Coin 110). Staff in l. hand, circlet with ribbons in r. hand.
- e (Coin 111). Deity faces r.; holds staff in r. hand, sword in l.
- f (Coin 112). Similar in general arrangement to b, but holds staff l. hand. Belongs to final phase of Huvishka issues.

The lunar deity MAO is clearly masculine and martial in all types here. Thus this icon is set apart from Western Asian lunar deities, who are most often female (Figure 147). Offering a torque or diadem, he seems to possess the power of investiture. In Avestan literature, worship of the deity Māh finds expression in the Māh Yašt, in which the moon is described as the repository of the seed of the bull, "the liberal, the bright, the glorious water-giving, wisdom-giving, wealth-giving . . ." ⁴⁶ A Pahlavi commentary on this Yašt gives a characteristically moralistic interpretation: as the moon waxes, it is filled with the store of merit for the deeds of men and also with the heavenly rewards for these deeds; as it wanes, it consigns these rewards to earthly beings and sends the good deeds to heaven. ⁴⁷ Monneret de Villard has pointed out, however, that in the Avesta, Māh has none of the military functions or overtones which the deity possesses on Kushan coins. ⁴⁸ The frequency and variety of lunar types (including MANAOBAGO) here reinforce the idea that these had a special place in the Kushan scheme of things. Along with the overtones of the Chinese version of the Kushan national name—Yüeh-chih—there is also the suggestion that Kanishka bore the Sanskrit term Candra as a prefix to his name. In addition, a lunar emblem is found on the helmet of an Indo-Scythian portrait head found at Māt (described in Chapter VI); there are crescent-like shapes on the headdresses of Kanishka and especially Huvishka in the coin portraits (Coins 30, 46, 50); and crescents appear on the diadem of the Kushan regal lady's portrait from Sahrī-Bahlol (Figure 64).

11a. MAO-MIRO

Huvishka only (Coins 113, 114). Two male figures facing each other, labeled as above. MAO, to l., has lunar crescent, holds sword and short staff. MIRO (12 below) is radiate, armed with a sword; r. hand in two-fingered gesture.

This is a combination of solar and lunar emblems in an early phase of the Huvishka coinage. These same two deities are shown on the Kanishka reliquary flanking the emperor (Figure 60a). (Their special significance in this instance is discussed below, Appendix II.)

12. MIRO (variants MIRO, MEIRO, MIRRO, MIORO, MIURO)

Kanishka (Coins 115, 116, 117). Diademed male standing to l., nimbate and radiate; wears tunic and mantle and short boots; makes peculiar two-fingered hand gesture. Armed with short sword at l. hip. One variant (Coin 117) of image carries a knobbed staff.

Huvishka

- a (Coins 118, 119). Faces r.; holds sword or *añkuśa* in l. hand, a torque in r. Has radiate halo; dressed in tunic, short boots, and mantle. Similar in fabric and style to Huvishka's "inaugural" MAO type (Coin 103). Change in monogram to Huvishka one (7) occurs here with no fundamental change in reverse type.
- b (Coins 120, 121). Kanishka's basic type above.
- b¹ (Coins 122, 123, 124). Similar, except that deity holds staff either resting in arm or on the ground.
- c (Coins 125, 126). Proffers circlet with diadem in r. hand. L. hand on hip. Variants: without radiations from halo, radiations inside halo.
- c¹ (Coins 127, 128). Similar, but holds staff in l. hand; hair is in bun behind neck (Parthian style?).
- d (Coin 129). Holds staff in r. hand, l. hand on hip.
- c (Coin 130). Faces l.; holds staff in r. hand, *añkuśa* in l. Halo lacks radiations; wears helmet. Strongly classical in spirit. Belongs to late phase of Huvishka coinage.
- f (Coin 131). Similar to c, except that offers circlet with l. hand. Halo radiate.

This is the ancient Indo-Iranian solar deity *Mithra* or *Mitra*, whose name here *MIRO* seems close in form to the Pahlavi *Mihr*.⁴⁹ His images in these coins are iconographically generalized and far less expressive than most of the solar imagery of either India or the classical world. For example, in the Kushan coins the familiar solar chariot and horses do not appear, although they are common in the Buddhist sculpture of the empire (Figures 46, 88, 89) and in pre-Kushan coinage.⁵⁰ (These issues and the evidence of a solar cult in the Kushanshahr are discussed separately in Chapter VIII below.)

Of signal importance is the fact that the *MIRO* or *ARDOXSHO* or *NANA* or *PIIARRO* coins far outnumber, and are much more varied than, the coins bearing the image of *Ahura Mazda* (13, *MOZDOOANO*, below). On a simple statistical basis, the supremacy of *Ahura Mazda* in the Zoroastrian divine hierarchy is not reflected by the Kushan coins. The somewhat abstract, ethical ideology of the *Gāthās*, although represented there, was not the dominant basis of the coin symbolism; instead, the more popular or nature-centered elements in the Iranian religious sphere seem to have predominated. In any event, Sir Aurel Stein's rubric for this part of the Kushan pantheon, "Zoroastrian deities," should be discarded.⁵¹

13. MOZDOOANO

Kanishka only (Coins 132, 133). Extremely rare. Equestrian male facing r., riding a *two-headed horse*! All examples have this unusual and thus far unexplained iconographic feature.⁵² Deity is bearded; wears forward-pointing hat similar to Phrygian cap (see also Figure 58), diadem; hair

is in small Parthian bun at the back of neck; scarf over arm; carries long staff with single ring near top. Foot is covered with heavy boot or cloth, and points downward.

With the name being derived probably from *Mazdah vano* (*Mazdah the Triumphant*), this is the supreme deity of the Zoroastrian Iranian pantheon, the creator of heaven and earth and of all life. This is the only strictly equestrian figure in all Kushan numismatic imagery, and it anticipates such symbols of the deity in Sasanian rupestrian art, as at Naqsh-e Rostam or Bishāpūr.

As mentioned above, the very rarity of these coins contrasts greatly with Ahura Mazda's hieratic importance. It is possible, however, that his imagery had been subject to something of the same iconic hesitancy as was the Buddha's, and that the less exalted elements of the pantheon would be more congenial to the somewhat secular milieu of the coinage. As with those showing the Buddha, these Kushan coins are among Ahura Mazda's earliest anthropomorphic representations. In Achaemenian art he was given emblematic guise, as a profile bust set into a quasi-Egyptian winged solar disk. Thus it would not be correct on these grounds alone to say that Ahura Mazda received less devotion or respect in the Kushanshahr than MITHRA or MAO or NANA, any more than it would be for the Buddha, whose coin emblems are also rare.



Fig. 9. OOROMOZDO. From aureus of Huvishka.

13a. OORMOZDO

Huvishka only (Text Figure 9). Bearded male standing to l., nimbate.⁵³ Holds pole in l. hand, wreath in r. Otherwise type is similar to that of OAXSHO, 18 below.

14. NANA (variants NANO, NANAO)

Kanishka (Coin 134). Female (?) in long robe standing to r.; in l. hand staff ending with protome of horse or stag; in r. hand bowl (?). Diademed; atop head is a prominent lunar crescent; halo around head.

Huvishka

a (Coins 44, 135, 136). Deity faces to l., holds staff with animal pro-

tome in r. hand, bowl in l. Nimbate, and otherwise similar to Kanishka's type above. In distinctive style of other of Huvishka's "inaugural" reverse types (see Coins 46, 103, 118).

- b (Coins 137, 138). Same as Kanishka's although markedly cruder.
- b¹ (Coins 139, 140). Same, except deity faces l.
- c (Coin 141). Faces r. Draws arrow from quiver with r. hand, holds bow in l. Wears long armored overgarment with rolled hem at bottom as though made of fur, long skirt, possibly helmet. Flaming shoulders.



Fig. 10. Seal 4. The Goddess Nana seated on lion. Kushan intaglio.

- d (Coin 142). Deity sits frontally on lion, head in profile to r. Nimbate, wears a helmet with a lunar crescent. Holds staff with animal protome in r. hand resting against shoulder. L. hand holds indeterminate object (? a bowl). Part of a shield can be seen at rear of lion, who snarls and strides to r. (see also Text Figure 10, Seal 4).

- c (Coin 78). Extremely rare coppers. NANA standing to r. holding staff. In front, on knees, male figure, possibly king himself in the añjali mudrā of worship. (For Parthian analogy, see Text Figure 27.) Vāsudeva (Coin 143). Similar in form and execution to Huvishka's type b above (esp. Coin 138), which is more or less the standard NANA type. Such similarities help bind the later phases of the Huvishkan issues to Vasudeva's, which are marked with new monogram—8.

In terms of the number of coins and variety of types, NANA is one of the most important deities on the coins of Kanishka and Huvishka. The name (along with the NANAIA of Kanishka's inaugural issues) is that of a composite nature goddess who had apparently developed out of the ancient Mesopotamian cult of the Lady of Heaven (Innana-Ishtar), which had flourished from the early stages of the religious development of the urban Near East.⁶⁴ This cult had inspired some ambitious temple projects (at Assur, Mari, Ischchali), sculptures, and liturgical texts. In tablets found in the Temple of Marduk at Babylon, NANA was described as: "Lady of ladies, goddess of goddesses, directress of mankind, mistress of the spirits of heaven, possessor of sovereign power; the light of heaven and earth, daughter of the Moon God, ruler of weapons, arbitress of battles; goddess of love; the power over princes and over the scepter of kings."⁶⁵ In ancient Mesopotamian glyptic arts and statuary, she appears often armed with arrows or a mace, carrying flowers or a scepter, standing on a lion, or lions, accompanied by the planet Venus whose astrological forces she embodied.⁶⁶

The cult of Innana-Ishtar-Astarte persisted into the Parthian period, when it seems to have been focused in an area from Susa westward. At Dura-Europos there was a vast temple complex, its early phases datable roughly to the third and second centuries B.C.⁶⁷ In inscriptions there, the deity was called both Nanaia and Artemis, as she was in classical literary sources. This correlation of the two goddesses is reflected in Huvishka's Coin 141, where she is shown in the guise of Artemis the huntress, drawing an arrow from her quiver. In the coins of Kanishka, the goddess was given two names in the pattern of the HELIOS-MIRO or SALENE-MAO pairs. But instead of Artemis, she was called NANAIA in the Western version and NANA in the Eastern one.

The goddess appears in the clay votive tablets of Palmyra, which are a valuable record of that city's popular devotion.⁶⁸ In these, she is associated with two minor, abstract deities who seem to have been personifications of powers of Ishtar, thus reinforcing our concept of Nanaia's devolution from that more ancient goddess. However, Ishtar herself appears independently in a few of these seals.⁶⁹ At Hatra, another of the major caravan cities, a small and badly eroded cult image labeled Nanai was uncovered recently and is datable to the mid-second century A.D. (Text Figure 11).⁷⁰ The name appears in an inscription in nearby Assur as "goddess Nanai, king [sic] our mistress, daughter of

Bel . . .,"⁶¹ a peculiar epithet which has a close parallel in the Kushan coin types in which she is called NANASHAO or SHAONANA. At Susa, classical sources frequently refer to a temple of Nanaia-Artemis-Diana, a sanctuary which must



Fig. 11. Statue of Nanai. Hatra.

have been virtually a temple-state with its own treasury,⁶² where the worship of the goddess can be traced in an unbroken tradition back to the third millennium B.C.

Widespread though the various forms of the cult of this ancient deity may have been, many students have assumed that NANA of the Kushan coins was a guise of the Iranian goddess Anāhitā, the Mazdean lord of the fertilizing waters entrusted by Ahura Mazda with the care of all created beings—this following Georg Hoffmann or James Prinsep, who wrote more than eighty years ago.⁶³ Anāhitā is best known through the Avestan *Aban Yašt* (*Song of Praise of the Waters*), in which she is called Ardvī-sura Anāhitā or Ardvī-Anāhitā.⁶⁴ She is described as a goddess of fertility who makes the seed of all males pure, the womb of all females pure for bringing forth, who makes females bring forth in safety; she whose river is as large as the whole waters that run along the earth; strong and bright, tall and beautiful of form, who sends down by day and night a flow of motherly waters; men of strength beg of her sweet victory. She is also a goddess of war; she rides in a chariot drawn by four white horses. The *Aban Yašt* describes in detail what must have been a contemporary cult image of the goddess: "Strong, tall-formed, high-girdled . . . wearing a mantle fully brodered with gold . . . holding the baresma in her hand . . . wearing square golden earrings on her ears . . . and a golden necklace around her neck . . . a golden crown of a hundred gems with eight rays . . . a crown in the shape of a ratha [that is, like the chest of a chariot] with fillets streaming down . . . clothed with garments of beaver, with the skins of thirty beavers . . . that live [in the water]." ⁶⁵

Ardvī-Anāhitā is not so ancient a divinity as Nanaia. She is mentioned by Herodotus, and her first appearance in Iranian epigraphy occurs at Susa, where the Achaemenid Artaxerxes Mnemon (405-361 B.C.) is described as praying to Ahura Mazda, Anāhitā, and Mithra.⁶⁶ The same king erected statues of Aphrodite-Anaitis in the temples of the great cities of the empire—Babylon, Susa, Ecbatana, Persia (probably Persepolis), Bactriana, Damascus, and Sardis—according to the Babylonian astrologer Berossos, writing a century after the event. This comment of Berossos was itself preserved by Clement of Alexandria, who observed that this was the first time the Persians had used images in the ritual worship of their gods, the Iranians having been previously subject to much the same hesitancy to employ the figurative arts as the Vedic Aryans were.⁶⁷

There is a wealth of evidence about the popularity of her cult in Western Asia. As the goddess of vegetation, fertile waters, generation, and birth, she was assimilated to Artemis, Aphrodite, Cybele, Athene-Minerva, Hera, and Magna Mater, and worshiped with temples and images.⁶⁸ It is frequently said that her cult flourished in Bactria, because both Greeks and Sakas struck coins with the figure of Artemis with a crown emitting rays of light.⁶⁹ W. W. Tarn and Mlle Allouche-le Page, recalling the Artemis-Anāhitā equation and Berossos's report of the spread of Anāhitā's cult to Bactria, claimed with the evidence of these coins that Anāhitā was the patron deity of Bakh and that in this way her cult came to the Kushans.⁷⁰

The identification of the Kushan NANA as Anāhitā should not be made without caution. Most important, it does not occur overtly in ancient sources, except perhaps in a puzzling passage by the Armenian Church historian Agathangelos, writing in the fourth century A.D.⁷¹ The Palmyrene tesserae represent both goddesses separately, and do not suggest any linkage between them.⁷² The forms of the Kushan NANA bear no obvious resemblance to the numerous appearances of Ardvi-Anāhitā in the relief carvings and toreutics of the Sasanians, in which she is so often shown crowned, carrying a water vase, a flower, or a bird.⁷³ In the Kushan coins, she wears a sword and carries a distinctive staff ending with the protome of a horse or stag.⁷⁴

The definitive answers to these problems should be provided by specialists in the history of religion. However, speculatively, there is no obvious reason why Nanaia and Anāhitā could not have been combined syncretically, because the religious value of both was very similar. Classical sources used the rubrics Artemis and Diana and Aphrodite to describe both, and there are even some suggestions that Anāhitā herself might have been an ancient offshoot of the Innana-Ishtar cult which had spread onto the Iranian plateau in pre-Zoroastrian times and adopted certain Iranian features, particularly an emphasis upon fire ritual. There is little evidence that Ardvi-Anāhitā was an Aryan deity brought by the invading Iranians, for the spirit of her cult lies close to that of the great post-Neolithic one of the Mother Goddess in the Near East. As the feminine personifications of abundance among the Kushans, NANA-Aravi Anāhitā had much in common with ARDOXSHO (see above, 1); but the cult of ARDOXSHO seems to have been centered upon dynastic and political abundance, whereas that of NANA emphasized natural phenomena. In later Kushan times, a peculiar coin of Kanishka III or a successor (Text Figure 14) shows a female dressed like ARDOXSHO seated frontally on a lion (combined possibly with an elephant) in a manner which suggests her fusion symbolically with NANA (see Chapter IV).⁷⁵

Syncretic combinations of this kind were common throughout the late Hellenistic period and the first three centuries of the Christian era. On the evidence of the Kushan coins, NANA was also correlated with the Hindu deity Umā or Pārvatī as a consort of Śiva (see 19a below); at the other end of the world, in Egypt, she was combined on occasions with the ancient Isis.⁷⁶ Such combinations were not casual; rather, they were one product of the great intermingling of peoples which resulted from the successive imperial adventures in the Irano-Hellenic world: Achaemenian, Macedonian, Seleucid, Parthian, Roman, and—let it be said—Kushan. With the free movements of peoples along the great trade routes, with the expanded knowledge of foreign places and beliefs, attempts were made to establish underlying unities of convictions and to reconcile the different ideological communities in these polyglot empires.

The Romans equated their deities with those of the Etruscans and Greeks, and in the Middle East the Greco-Roman pantheon was correlated with the gods of the Syrians, Persians, and Mesopotamians. Nothing is more eloquent of this intermingling than the syncretic deities celebrated at the Hierothesion of Antiochus I of Kommagene at Nimrud Dagħ (Figure 148)—Zeus-Oromasdes (Ahura Mazda), Apollo-Mithras-Helios-Hermes, and Artagnes (Verethraghna)—Herakles-Ares. The clay votive tablets of Palmyra show this process in a more popular guise in a pantheon as expanded as that of the Kushans; there were at least forty deities taken from Hellenic, Iranian, Old Semitic, and local sources.⁷⁷

Thus there is no difficulty in assuming that Nanaia (or Ardoxsho) and Anāhitā had been syncretically combined. On the contrary, it would be difficult to account for the total absence of Anāhitā from the Kushan pantheon in view of her patent importance in the Iranian world of that time. The problem is partly one of nomenclature. In spite of the several theories of Anāhitā's preëminence in the Oxus region, her name as such does not appear in any recognizable guise in the Kushanshahr, whereas the name NANAIA is common. It was struck on the reverses of some rare Bactrian silver drachmas of an obscure King Sapadbizes. These coins are from the time of the rise of the Kushan Empire—late first century B.C.—and are similar in letter type and material to those of Hyrkodes and Heraus.⁷⁸ Among the Sogdian letters discovered at Tunhuang by Sir Aurel Stein are references to a priest of Nanai, and the goddess' name was incorporated in the personal names of Sogdian colonists at this entrepôt for metropolitan China in the early fourth century A.D.⁷⁹ Further, as a part of personal names, Nanaia appears among the ostrakha (tax records) of the Parthian town of Nissa.⁸⁰

Certain Gandhāran sculptures have been identified as the deity (Ingholt no. 442, an unlikely attribution); another candidate might be the small statue of unknown provenance in the Lahore Museum showing a seated female holding a bowl in her right hand and an uncertain object in her left.⁸¹ She is flanked by two doglike lions; because of her halo and distinct hieratic frontality, she must have been a cult image. Apparently NANA, unlike ARDOXSHO, did not fit into the pattern of popular devotion in Gandhāra. However, a few metal objects from Central Asia or the region north of the Black Sea may belong to this religious-symbolic ambient, but they are difficult to place in time or precise point of origin. Most pertinent perhaps is a small plaque in the bottom of a silver bowl now in the British Museum (Text Figure 12).⁸² This shows a four-armed deity seated on a lion; she holds a bowl, a scepter, a wheel, and a lunar crescent. Although many of these attributes could be related in Kushan iconography to MANAOBAGO (10 above), they are also part of the NANA symbols. There are several similar works which seem to represent female deities of abundance and just rule in Outer Iran in the pre-Muslim period.⁸³

It seems likely that the cult of Nanaia contained religious elements of great antiquity. In their persistence is a clue, at least, to the mechanics by which pre-Achaemenian symbolic elements could have been transmitted to the Kushanshahr, so improbably remote in time and space—the motifs of flaming royal shoulders, the ruler seated on a mountain top, or the system of ornate helmets and tunics in Kushan (and Parthian) costume—the atavistic recall of motifs from the pre-Hellenistic Orient.



Fig. 12. Four-armed goddess seated on lion. British Museum.

14a. NANASHAO

Kanishka (Coins 144, 145). Same as his NANA type.

Huvishka (Coin 146). Same as his NANA type a above.

The coin gives Nanaia the epithet of Ruler, a phenomenon found at the Parthian city of Assur as well (see n. 61).

14b. SHAONANA

Huvishka only (Coin 147). Same as his NANA type a above but in a notably finer style. ("NANA the King," discussed above.)

15. NANAJA

Kanishka only (Coins 32, 148). Image same as his NANA type above.

This is one of the reverses of Kanishka's "Basilcus" series, the deity being given a Western name following the pattern of the SALENE-MAO or ELIOS-MITRO types. (Discussed under NANA, 14 above.) •

16. OADO

Kanishka (Coins 149, 150). Only in copper; male bearded figure running to l.; large cape floats behind and around him; head is radiate.

Huvishka: Only in copper; similar to Kanishka's type, except that the figure is stockier and lacks the supernatural radiations.

Oado was a wind god, the name probably deriving from the Avestan Vāta, the strong Mazda-created wind, similar to the element vāta in the Rig Veda. Both Herodotus and Strabo record that the ancient Persians offered sacrifices to help control the wind.⁸⁴ In traditional Persian royal lore, the wind was believed to bring wealth; as such, it was one of the seven treasures of Khosroes II, in a variant apparently of the idea of the *saptaratna* of the Indian cakravartin or Universal Monarch (for which see Chapter VIII).⁸⁵ Iranian texts mention also Vayu, which is the wind, but more the principle of the wind, the governor of the wind, whereas Vāta is the wind as an active element.⁸⁶

A small fragment of Gandhāran sculptures (Figure 76) shows the deity flanked by Indo-Scythian men, all in attendance presumably of the Buddha. A similar example appears in the soffit of the arch over the smaller Buddha at Bāmiyān, the fresco painting of a celestial deity.

Remarkably, this type has been found only in copper and not in gold.⁸⁷ The coppers are among the most common of all Kushan coins.

17. OANINDO

Huvishka only

a (Coin 151). Winged female figure standing to l. Bearing in l. hand a cornucopia; in r. hand a circlet with ribbons. Nimbate, wears classical style robes.

b (Coins 152, 153). Same, but holds staff in place of cornucopia, not nimbate.

c (Coin 154). Faces r.; holds circlet in l. hand, staff in r. Winged and nimbate.

Iconographically, this type is derived from the classical Nike, genius of victorious supremacy, long familiar in Greco-Bactrian, Indo-Greek, and Saka coinage (Coins 267, 280). The name here was probably derived from that of the Avestic Vanainti (*uparatat*), a star and goddess associated with the Lord of Victory Verethraghna (see 20 below) and shown at Taq-i-Bustan and

Bisutūn.⁸⁸ These four coins of Huvishka were all struck on the obverse with the same die.

18. OAXSHO

Huvishka only (Coin 155). Standing male to l., nimbate, diademed, bearded (?). In l. hand holds large, fork-tailed fish; in r., a staff.

Clearly an aquatic deity, probably the god of the River Oxus.⁸⁹ His form is reminiscent of the Poseidon coins of Maues (see PMC no. 20).

19. OESHO

Vima

a (Coin 156). Single male figure standing frontally in *contrapposto*, head in profile to l. In r. hand a trident with peculiar hand grip in midshaft. Over l. arm animal pelt. In l. hand vase. Deity is entirely nude except for sacred thread or amulet string over l. shoulder.

b (Coins 20, 21). Same except that figure wears diaphanous garment, indicated by symmetrical folds across legs. To rear is bull in profile facing r., head turned frontally.

c (Coins 157, 28). Trident alone, set in stand or support with inexplicable flaplike object at juncture of shaft and support (rudder?).

None of these coins bears an inscription identifying the deity; but by analogy with the inscribed types of the later kings, he should be called OESHO, that is, Śiva. The prominent bull substantiates the identification. On some examples (Coins 21, 23, 156) there seem to be tongues of flame arising from his head, as they do from the shoulders of the king on the obverse, suggesting that both king and deity share the same divine energy or power, possibly as *tejas* (see Chapter VIII).⁹⁰ This flaming-head motif occurs on representations of Śiva in the early issues of the Mitra kings of Pañcāla;⁹¹ In Vāsudeva II's coins, a unique kind of radiance appears about the deity's head (Coins 217, 221); in the Kushano-Sasanian coins, the head of OESHO definitely produces flames (Coins 251, 257).

Kanishka. (Coins 158, 159, 160). Male wearing dhoti shown frontally to l. Has four arms: upper r. with drum or vajra, lower r. with vase and *aṅkuṣa* upper l. holding staff with trident, lower l. holding by horns the *mṛiga* (an antelope or stag). Nimbate, has distinct *ushṇisha*; wears a string of beads or amulets over l. shoulder.

Huvishka

a (Coins 161, 162). Symbolically same as Kanishka's type, but note that the OESHO coins lack the "inaugural" issues seen in Huvishka's other major symbolic series. Note also the lunar crescent, Coin 161.

b (Coin 163). Deity stands rigidly *en face*. Has three heads. In upper r. hand is wheel with six spokes; lower r. holds antelope; upper l., trident staff; lower l., thunderbolt or drum. Nimbate and ithyphallic.

- c (Coin 164). Deity *en face* with slight *contrapposto*. In upper r. hand radiant object (the vajra); in lower r., vase; in upper l., trident; in lower l., club (*daṇḍa*). Has three heads and rounded, flat headdress. Wears short skirt and sacred thread.

Vāsudeva (See below, Chapter IV, for his varied *oesho* types.)

The legend *oesho* may have come from the Prakrit *haveśa* or the Sanskrit *bhaveśa* (Lord of Being), an epithet of Śiva. Maricq sees it as equal to the Prakrit *visha* or the Sanskrit *vīsha* ("male," "most excellent of its kind"), but I do not believe that the philological problems have been thoroughly explored.⁹²

It has been amply demonstrated that Saivism had flourished strongly in the northwest before the coming of the Kushans.⁹³ One visual testament of this is a worn bronze seal excavated at Sirkap showing a deity, probably Śiva, striding vigorously and holding both a club and trident (Seal 7).⁹⁴ This seal is inscribed in both Brāhmī and Kharoshthī characters of approximately the beginning of the Christian Era with the name *Sivarakshita* ("protected by Śiva"), and also bears the ancient *nandipada* motif which came to be used on the coins of Vima Kadphises as a monogram (3). Even though the cult of Śiva spread throughout the Kushanshahr, the Hindus were far slower than the Buddhists in developing architectural shrines and imagery. Paradoxically, substantiation exists in a unique fragmented stele, found near the Mathurā Museum (Figure 41).⁹⁵ It shows two Kushan men worshiping, not an image of Śiva, but a Śiva *linga*. This carving can be dated to the time of Huvishka, thus mid-second century A.D., and we can discount attempts to identify one of these devotees as King Vāsudeva.⁹⁶

The early representations of Śiva among the Kushans were syncretic in character. On Vima's coins, the deity holds a lion pelt (see especially Coin 156), which representation must have been adapted from images of Herakles which were common in the region. The club carried by the deity in the Sirkap seal above must also have come from Herakles, and the form of *oesho*'s trident is that of Poseidon's (Gardner, *BMC*, Pls. V.1, XIX.10) modified by an ax head along the shaft.

The evidence of such syncretism has been strongly reinforced by Klaus Fischer's publication of a rude stone carving of Śiva in the Museum at Mazar-i-Sharif (Figure 126).⁹⁷ This carving was found at Saozma-Kala, about twenty-five miles southwest of Balkh in the hills along the southern edge of the great Oxus plain. The deity is three-headed: his two profile heads are bearded, and the center head is clean-shaven with a slight cranial bump suggesting an *ushnīsha* or *jatāmukuta*. In his right hand he holds a trident and a knobbed club, in his left an apple; over the left arm hangs a lion pelt. The hair, beard, and eyebrows were originally painted red. Fischer explored the various possibilities of its symbolic significance, and concluded that it was probably Śiva

with the attributes of Herakles and also (perhaps less likely) those of Buddha, the latter represented by the central head. The work is too crude to be precisely dated, but it surely belongs to the period of Kushan hegemony in the region. Such an association of Śiva with Herakles persisted for a long time, as indicated by a later Kushan seal in the British Museum (Seal 6) with both deities present, which may date as late as the fifth century A.D.

Much closer to the imagery of Kushan coins is the small, unique relief carving from the Chārsadda district (Figure 84) showing Śiva and Nandi much as they appear on a coin type of Vāsudeva I (Coins 209, 210). In general, the Hindu cults seem to have grown increasingly stronger in the western parts of the Kushanshahr. By the third century A.D., the OESHO types came to predominate in coins minted north of the Hindu Kush (see Chapter IV). A growing number of Hindu images have come from the Kabul Valley in both Gandhāra and Afghanistan, datable to the late fourth and fifth centuries A.D.

19a. OESHO-NAN

Huvishka only (Coin 165). Deity four-armed standing en face, head profile to l. On r. half of coin profile figure holds bow (?) with legend NAN. OESHO figure holds no discernible attributes.

This rare type establishes Nanaia as the consort of Śiva; below (19b) is a similar pairing of deities in which the female is OMMO, thus Umā.

19b. OESHO-OMMO

Huvishka only (Coin 166). Two deities: on the proper r. OESHO in the same guise as in 19a above, on the proper l. robed female holding flower.

The OMMO being most probably Umā, this divine pair again shows how close these Kushan images are to the later Śaiva iconographic tradition and how early the doctrine of the Śakti appeared in the visual arts—the embodiment as a female of the “energy” of a divinity, a similar pairing being the Hārītī-ARDOXSHO with Pañcika-PHARRO in Gandhāran sculpture (see Chapter IX). This coin also demonstrates the remarkable range of Kushan religious syncretism: the OESHO-NAN pair must have had much the same religious value, Nanaia and Umā being thus correlated.

Robert Göbl⁹⁸ questions this identification, maintaining that the coin shows Śiva being worshiped by Vima, who holds a branch similar to that in Coin 27. His principal argument is that the legend, either blundered or damaged on the die, should be read as OEMO, and that since it is an issue of Huvishka, it must be a coin commemorating Vima, a case of ancestral deification in the Roman manner. I am unable to agree with him. There are no other commemorative issues in this huge corpus of Kushan coins, whereas there are several examples of paired deities; in fact, a MITRO-MAO pair (Coin 114) shares a common obverse die with this one. A rare copper coin type of Huvishka shows on the reverse a prince worshiping the goddess NANA (Coin 78); he

seems to be wearing Kushan clothing, whereas on the present coin the supposed Vima is wearing a robe. Becoming a deified ancestor may or may not have changed Vima's nature, but in his own issues he gives every sign of having supernatural properties, thus it seems unlikely that an artist would represent him without his particular costume and beard. Finally, it seems rather a case of overanalysis to see an "E" in the legend, particularly when on the same coin the word *oesho* at 3:00 gives a different form of that letter. Although the worship of Umā predates the Kushan period, this unique coin would be the only instance of her symbolic appearance in this ambient. Naturally, one would prefer more examples, but among all other possibilities I still prefer to recognize on this coin Umā together with her consort Śiva.

20. ORLAGNO (variant OSHLAGNO)

Kanishka only (Coins 167, 168). Male standing frontally with head profile to r. Wears Indo-Scythian style clothing; has a bird in his headdress with extremely long wings. Carries spear in l. hand; sword with birdlike hilt. Diademed.

The name is an older form of the Pahlavi Vāhrān (originally Vṛithragna), variant of Verethraghna, the national lord of Iranians in arms, "the irresistible."⁹⁹ He is celebrated in the entire Fourteenth (*Bahrām*) Yašt, in which he can take ten guises as the personification of victory: (1) as the Lord of the Wind, Vāta (16 above), (2) a bull, (3) a white stallion with golden ears, (4) a rutting camel, (5) a wild boar, (6) a fifteen-year-old prince, (7) the bird Vārāgna, (8) a savage ram, (9) a male goat, (10) an armed warrior.¹⁰⁰ One of the most important and popular figures in the Iranian pantheon, he was called *baro-hvareno* ("bearing royal glory"). He was naturally worshiped by martial classes, and a series of Bahrām fires in provincial centers were dedicated to him as God of Victories during the Sasanian period.¹⁰¹ His bird Vārāgna has feathers of amuletic powers, useful in healing and protection against danger. As worn in a headdress, this motif appears in the symbolism of PHARRO (21 below) and of the Buddhist guardian figures (see Chapter IX). In the Kommagene inscriptions, Verethraghna (as Artagnes) was equated with Herakles and Ares; in Western Mithraism, with Herakles alone.

The winged headdress is a significant feature of Iranian symbolism; here it anticipates the more advanced bird and animal forms which flourished in the Sasanian period (see, for example, Figure 134 and Coins 250, 254). In Kushan arts, such motifs are not highly developed. However, a puzzling pillar figure from Mathurā wears a tall helmet which still retains the wings and neck of what must have been the full figure of a bird at the crest (Figure 27). Although he is dressed in a tight-fitting upper garment, the lower part of his body is clothed with a dhoti and he is barefoot. Such headdresses must have been widespread in the Parthian period. At Hatra, King Sanatruq wears an eagle insigne on his

diadem (Figure 138); so also does the god Nergal (Figure 143); and a winged headdress appears in the frescoes at Kūh-i-Khwāja in Seistān.¹⁰²

The name ORLAGNO is close in form to the name of the Indo-Parthian Prince Orthagnes, successor to Gondophares, the meaning of the name in both instances being roughly the same.¹⁰³

21. PHARRO (variant PHARO)

Kanishka (Coins 169, 170). Male standing frontally, head in profile to r. Wears tunic, mantle, low boots, and helmet with small wing ornament over forehead. Holds spear in l. hand, bowl in r. against chest. Diademed. Huvishka

- a (Coins 171, 172). Similar to Kanishka's type above.
- a¹ (Coin 173). The same, except deity faces l.
- a² (Coin 174). Similar to a¹, but deity proffers a torque or circle with fluttering ribbons. Has wings in headdress.
- b (Coins 175, 176). Stands facing l., Proffers purse in r. hand. Wears helmet and (armored ?) tunic; holds staff in l. hand.
- c (Coins 177, 178, 63). Deity stands to l. Proffers fire in vessel with r. hand. Variously nimbate or has flaming shoulders; has winged headdress.
- c¹ (Coin 179). Same, but deity faces r. May have short chin beard.
- d (Coin 180). Deity stands to l. in center of wheel-like shape (pedestal ?); holds staff in l. hand; makes two-fingered gesture with r. Has prominent winged headdress.
- e (Coin 181). Faces r. Holds staff in r. hand; holds hilt of sword in l. Hilt in shape of animal head.

PHARRO personifies the Khvareno, the Iranian concept of the glory and legitimacy of kings (discussed in detail in Chapter VIII). He bestows fire in a vessel of flames and wealth in a purse. Iconographically, his deity has affinities with both ORLAGNO (winged hat) and ATHSHO (flaming shoulders), the lords of military victory and of the sacrificial fire. An image of PHARRO or a similar concept appears with flaming shoulders on the coins of the problematic King Hyrkodes (Coin 13); the vessel of flames appears in pre-Kushan times in the coins of Azes I and Azilises (Coin 273), but it is the Tyche, prototype of the Kushan ARDOXSHO, who proffers the fire.

In Gandhāran sculpture, figures similar to PHARRO occur as the Buddhist Kubera-Vaiśravaṇa (Figure 83, for example) and are paired with a goddess of abundance similar to ARDOXSHO (discussed in Chapter IX). This linkage is consistent and symbolically meaningful—to conjoin the emblem of royal legitimacy and good fortune with that of the prosperity of the state—and it occurs also in a Kushan seal from the Cunningham Collection (Seal 3, Text Figure 13).

22. RISHNO OR RION

Huvishka only (Coins 182, 183, 184). Extremely rare. Goddess standing

to r. Wears crested helmet, body armor, and long chiton. In l. hand spear; in r., shield.



Fig. 13. Seal 3. PHARRO and ARDOXSHO. Kushan intaglio. British Museum.

Only three examples of this coin in gold are known to me. The two in the British Museum (Coins 182, 183) were struck from the same reverse die. The obverse dies differ: one a barbarous and coarse portrait, the other highly detailed and craftsmanlike. Coin 183 was struck after 182: the reverse die was tampered with—small dots in Coin 183 suggest a halo and mandorla for the goddess, as though the engraver sketched this additional motif but did not cut it. The die itself belongs to a large group of reverses bearing the Kanishka monogram (4) in which the figures are often blundered and the legends misleading or illegible (for example, Coins 64, 122, 139, 200). The RION, which is sometimes interpreted as ROMA, can be compared with the legend on Coin 198, which may have been intended to read ARDOXSHO.

The third example comes from a separate and more carefully engraved die from a late phase in Huvishka's coinage, but it too offers problems. It may be read RISHNO or RISHMO; the third letter is unusual, its closest analogies appearing in much later Kushan and Kushano-Sasanian issues and seals (for example, Coins 254, 259). The deity immediately suggested is the Avestan Rašnu, personification of righteousness "who best wards off the foe," an attendant of Mithra.¹⁰⁴ The Avestan Rašnu is, however, a male, and in the Indian Saura literature he is equated with Kārttikeya. Cunningham long ago suggested Riddhi,

the consort of Kubera, for these coins.¹⁰⁵ This suggestion should be discounted chiefly on the grounds that if Riddhi appears at all in the Kushan ambient it would be as the seated figure in some of the tutelary pairs of Gandharan sculpture (Figure 78; see the last part of Chapter IX)—to be correlated with ARDOXSHO, Tyche, or Demeter.

This Kushan coin type is similar to some of the standing Pallas Athene figures in the earlier coinage of the region (Coin 264). These in turn are reflected in the common imperial Roman types for Minerva, which in some respects were also adapted to symbolize the goddess Roma. However, the Dea Roma was usually shown seated in profile and can be easily distinguished from Minerva. No clear Roman source for RISHNO appears in the Roma types.¹⁰⁶ Göbl, on the other hand, has found some amazingly close parallels between it and issues of Hadrian and Antoninus Pius of the Minerva-Pallas type minted in Alexandria, and found also much the same kind of connection between the Kushan SHAOREORO (25 below) and the Roman types for Ares-Mars.¹⁰⁷ The best clue to the actual identity of the RISHNO type seems to lie in its symbolic relationship with SHAOREORO.¹⁰⁸ The final solution of the problem must come from philologists and historians of religion.

23. SALENE

Kanishka only (Coins 30, 185). Rare. Male figure standing to l. Lunar disk at shoulders. Wears tunic, mantle, short boots. Holds in l. hand long staff with rounded knob head and ribbons.

This type belongs to Kanishka's inaugural "Basileus" types. It is the Hellenic counterpart for the MAO coins, but is more classical in design and of higher aesthetic achievement. (For its iconographic significance, see MAO, 11 above.)

24. SARAPO

Huvishka only (rare)

a (Coin 186). Male figure seated entirely *en face*. Has heavy hair framing face. Holds staff in l. hand, circlet or torque in r. Wears mantle held at chest, also robe to ankles. Throne is four-posted with curved legs; has footstool at feet. Nimbate.

b (Coins 187, 57). Male figure standing to l. Has fillet around heavy hair. Dressed in long robe. Carries knobbed staff in crook of l. arm; makes single-fingered gesture with r. hand.

This is Serapis, a synthetic Greco-Egyptian divinity whose worship in Ptolemaic Alexandria spread through the Roman Empire and into the East.¹⁰⁹ He served as the supreme deity of the Alexandrian pantheon, equated with Zeus, Ammon, Helios, and Poseidon—thus he was lord of the sea, land, sky, and underworld.

Iconically, his seated position on Huvishka's coin is similar to that of MANAOBAGO (Coins 96-99), with whom he apparently shares the power of investiture. Here, however, SARAPO is entirely frontal in pose. The appearance of

this deity in Huvishka's coins is paralleled by other Greco-Egyptian elements in the art of this period. From Begram has come a notable bronze statuette thought to be of Serapis and Herakles syncretically combined (Figure 97b), as well as a representation of the Pharos at Alexandria and a number of stucco plaques in the Alexandrian style; a statuette of Harpocrates was found at Taxila—all indications of direct contact between the Kushanshahr and Alexandria, one of the great emporia of the India trade.¹¹⁰

25. SHAOREORO

Huvishka only

- a (Coins 60, 188, 189). Male figure standing to r. Wears Roman military garb of mailed skirt, cuirass, and crested helmet. Occasionally nimbate. Holds spear in r. hand; shield rests on ground at his feet and is held by l. hand.
- a¹ (Coin 190). Similar to above, but in place of shield deity holds sword with animal-head-shaped hilt.
- b (Coin 191). Deity stands to l. Costume as above. Holds spear in l. hand, brandishes shield in r.

The name is probably close to the later Pahlavi Šahrevar, originally Kshathra Vairya, (Desirable Kingdom), the fourth among the Ameša Spentas.¹¹¹ Having something like the functions of the Vedic Indra as the archetypal ruler, he is both the genius of imperial might and the god of metal, the molten metal which shall cover the earth on the Last Day.

26. SKANDO-KOMARO (MAASENA) BIZAGO

Huvishka only

- a (Coins 192, 193). Skando-Komaro and Bizago. Two males standing frontally, looking at each other, on small plinth decorated with rinceau pattern. On proper l. is Bizago, holding trident in l. hand; r. hand on hip. Has sword at l. hip, large jewel at chest. Wears dhoti. Skando-Komaro, similarly garbed, holds staff with knob finial Mons. 4 and 8.
- a¹ (Coin 194). As above, except limited to quarter dinar. Skando-Komaro holds both hands on hips.
- b (Coin 195). Skando-Komaro, Maasena, Bizago. Three male figures standing on a double plinth, both levels decorated with undulating pattern. Above them a kind of aedicule with concave roof at either side.¹¹² Central figure (identified as Mahāsena by inscription between pearly border and aedicule) totally frontal, other two flank and face him slightly, their gestures and arms as in a¹ above.

All these names refer to a single divinity in modern Saivism; the War God, son of Śiva, called variously Skanda, Kumāra, Viśākha, Mahāsena, Subrahmanya.¹¹³ Another name—Kārttikeya—does not appear in Kushan coins, but occurs on an inscribed Mathurā image of this deity of the Kushan period (Fig-

ure 49). It is instructive to see these deities as still separate entities not yet integrated into a single figure within the larger cult of Śiva. This is discussed in Chapter IX.

BLUNDERED OR UNIDENTIFIED TYPES

The so-called middle and late phases of Huvishka coinage produced a number of types which show evidence of misunderstanding of the symbolic idiom and also of sheer carelessness. In some instances it is difficult to decide whether a type represents a new divinity (as in 7 and 8, below) or is a garbled version of something else.

To explain this decline of skill and learning is beyond anything but speculation at the present stage of our knowledge. The inscriptions at the Māt devakula near Mathurā and at Surkh Kotal (Chapters VI and VII), both state that the Kushan shrines had fallen into disrepair and were restored in the thirties and perhaps forties of the Kanishka era. The Arā inscription of the year 41 further suggests usurpation or dynastic conflicts of some kind. According to my concept of Kushan chronology, the early to middle years of the Huvishkan period were those of the expansion of Rudradāman and the Yaudheyas into areas previously held by the Kushans from about A.D. 135 to 150. Withal, there is evidence of a time of troubles after the death of Kanishka. The blundered Huvishka coins are another symptom, because the earliest Huvishka coins were made in good order. Also, among the blundered coins appear some with the older Kanishka monogram (4) struck after the Huvishka monogram had been established.

Examples of these blundered reverse types are:

- 1 (Coin 196). Four-armed figure. Crude representation of the OESHO type. Legend almost meaningless.
- 2 (Coin 197). The type of ARDOXSHO, but bearing the legend of Mithra—MIORO. Bussagli believes that this type is the intentional creation of a female form of Mithra, some evidence for which can be found in Herodotus (1:131): The Assyrians call Aphrodite, Mylitta; the Arabians, Alitta; the Persians, Mitra.¹¹⁴ Although this is the point of departure for a valuable essay by Bussagli, it seems inadvisable to proceed on the basis of a single example among these blundered coins.
- 3 (Coin 198). The type for ARDOXSHO, but legend is blundered; (Coin 43) another is labeled as MAO.
- 4 (Coin 199). ARDOXSHO, carrying cornucopia, proffers circlet to l. The legend reads DOXSHO in crude letters which are comparable perhaps to those of MON type (Coins 182, 183).
- 5 (Coin 200). The NANA type with the legend OMO; (Coin 64) another with an almost illegible legend.

- 6 (Coins 174, 201). PHARRO given almost illegible legends.
- 7 (Coins 54, 202, 203). A type of bearded male with high cylindrical cap; staff in l. hand, r. hand in the gesture of *varada-mudrā*. Cap is similar to those worn by Indra in Gandhāran relief sculpture. The legends on the coins are of two kinds—OXSHO AND OROE—but the image is the same in both instances. Cunningham interpreted this as Varuṇa, Hindu god of waters on the basis of the second legend.¹¹⁵ Maricq felt that it represents the Egyptian Horus,¹¹⁶ which is not impossible in view of the SARAPIS type and other examples of Egyptian-Alexandrine influence in the Kushanshahr. Iconographically, of all these blundered types, this seems the most likely to represent a separate deity. But with so few examples and the cryptic legends, there is little material with which to identify it conclusively.
- 8 (Coin 204). Female standing to r. holding compound bow in l. hand, drawing arrow from quiver with r. hand. At first, this seems close to the Huvishka NANA-as-huntress type (Coin 141). However, this figure is not armored; wears a distinctive kind of headdress. Legend is unclear. Cunningham interpreted it as ZIRO or ZERO, the Iranian name for Zahra or Venus.¹¹⁷ Stein read it as TEIRO, associating it with the star Sirius—the name Tir for the fourth Zoroastrian month—and said that it is shown in the guise of the Greek Artemis.¹¹⁸ It seems to me more likely that the name MIRO has here been mistakenly placed on this as it was on 2 above, and that this is another version of NANA.¹¹⁹
- 9 An unpublished aureus in the British Museum with a standing male figure and a blundered label (?) MAECCOPE.

KUSHAN SEALS

The publication of a complete corpus of Kushan seals would greatly amplify our knowledge of this dynasty and its cultural orientation. To assemble plaster casts and make such a corpus was an unfulfilled ambition of the late André Maricq, but all that he had been able to publish at the time of his premature death was an admittedly tentative list appended to his *editio princeps* of the large Surkh Kotal inscription.¹²⁰ This list makes abundantly clear that the greatest number of Kushan intaglios belong to the fourth and fifth centuries, to the ambient of the Kushano-Sasanian coinage. A small number of them, however, come from the period of the so-called Great Kushans—from the first through the third centuries A.D., falling within the scope of this study. Those which I have discussed are listed below, among which three are previously unpublished.

1. Equestrian man Plate XVI. British Museum. 0.26 mm. wide.
Kushan man wearing tunic and pantaloons seated on doll-like horse facing left. Wears low cap with fillet streaming behind. Holds a peculiar device in l. hand—either a pointed goad for horse or a kind of

insignia. Behind horse is Nandipada (Monogram 3); in field before horse is a variant of Kushan imperial monogram (5), similar to that of Kanishka (4). One-word legend reads *ALDSHO*, possibly the name of the owner, although many Kushan seals apparently bear rank titles. Letter types and monogram help date this in the time of Kanishka I or early in the reign of Huvishka. Of interest is the fact that the man seems to have a hooklike foot support, something like a stirrup, on his saddle.¹²¹

2. Bear Plate XVI. Private collection. 0.18 mm. wide.
Animal resembles boar, but paw has distinct toes, is not ungulate; must be bear. One-word legend, *MARGAKOS*, may be the equivalent of the Saka title *marjhaka* (= *grihapati*, or chamberlain).¹²² Monogram, with its circular bottom, suggests that of Soter Megas (2), although this seal, on the basis of the letter types, belongs to the time of Kanishka I.
3. *PHARRO* and *ARDOXSHO* Text Figure 13. British Museum, ex Cunningham Collection. Sardonyx 0.23 mm. wide.
Deities *PHARRO* and *ARDOXSHO*, very much as shown on Kushan coins (Types 1 and 21 above) and Gandhāran sculpture (see Chapter IX). Both figures embody the ideal "royal prosperity and legitimate rule." One-word legend, which also appears on another and unpublished seal, reads *XAPOBAAAAT* (or *N*) *O*.¹²³ This is apparently close to one of the titles borne by Nokonzoko, the restorer of the Kushan dynastic shrine at Surkh Kotal (see Chapter VII). That title *KAPAAPATTO* is probably a military one, like Kanarang, Lord of the Marches.¹²⁴ On the basis of letter types and coin cognates, this seal dates probably in the reign of Huvishka.
4. *NANA* seated on lion Text Figure 10. British Museum, ex Cunningham Collection. Jacinth 0.20 mm. wide.
Goddess *NANA* as shown in Kushan coins, especially Huvishka's aureus (Coin 142), seated frontally on recumbent lion to right. (For symbolic significance, see discussion under 14 above.) Cunningham read difficult legend as *ΦPEIXOΔANO*; Maricq corrected it to *ΦPEIXOΔΔHO*.¹²⁵ A similar word appears in the Surkh Kotal inscription, where it is either a title of Nokonzoko, meaning "loyal to the emperor," or a personal name in patronymic form.¹²⁶
5. "Herakles and a Horse of Diomedes" Text Figure 8. Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. Sealing impression on black wax 0.24 mm. wide.
Nude male figure struggling with a rampant horse much smaller in scale than he. The motif is probably one of the labors of Herakles in which he killed the horses of Diomedes, son of Ares, who fed his animals human flesh. This motif of animal combat is rare in Kushan imagery. Monogram (7) belongs to the types used in Kushan heraldry. Bivar's suggestion that its owner was possibly the son of Kanishka I should be

discarded on the basis that the letter types are close to later Kushan or Kushano-Sasanian coins, indicating a date near the end of the third century A.D.¹²⁷ The long inscription is nearly illegible, being impressed in wax in a Kushan cursive Greek script of a debased type; however, the name Kaneshko can be detected.

6. Four-sided intaglio Plate XVI. British Museum. 0.11 mm. by 0.18 mm. per face.
Has the four faces: 1. Siva nude standing frontally with trident and club. 2. Two figures, male and female (?), turning toward each other and joining arms. They are probably paired divinities, such as PHARRO and ARDOXSHO, but they lack any specific attributes. 3. Prince, in Indo-Scythian dress with forward-pointing helmet, sacrificing over altar. Sun in field above altar. 4. Herakles standing frontally, head in profile to left. Holds club in right hand, pelt of Nemean lion in left. Seal is uninscribed; on stylistic grounds, it may be as late as the fifth century A.D., and is of interest because of the evidence of the persistence of syncretism peculiar to the Kushan pantheon of Kanishka and Huvishka.
7. Siva Plate XVI. Taxila Museum. Copper 1.35 in. by 1.25 in.
Siva in center, holding trident and club, striding vigorously to left. Inscribed in both Brāhmī and Kharoshthī Sivarakshita (protected by Siva). Excavated at Sirkap; from early first century A.D.¹²⁸

IV. VASUDEVA I AND HIS SUCCESSORS

A SPAN of only four or seven years separates the last mention of Huvishka and the first of his successor, Vāsudeva, who was given full imperial epithets. The first dated inscription bearing the name of Vāsudeva is on a Buddhist image of the year 64 or 67 from Pālikherā, near Mathurā City.¹ The coins associated with him are usually inscribed SHAONANOSHAO BAZODEO KOSHANO. No inscription mentioning his name comes from the northwest; however, an epigraph of his period is probably that of the year 89 on the relief carving of the Idasalaguhā (The Visit of Indra) from Mamānedherī (Ingholt no. 131), one of the rare examples of a Gandhāran sculpture bearing a date in the era of Kanishka.² All other epigraphic references come from Mathurā but, of twenty dated ones of his period, only six mention his name. If the same Vāsudeva is involved in these, he ruled no less than twenty-four years, his latest date being the year 98 of the era of Kanishka.

Vāsudeva differs in a number of aspects from his predecessors. The chief of these is his name, a common Indian royal one of that epoch and one with considerable religious overtones; it is that of the father of Kṛishṇa and of a manifestation in human form of Viṣṇu.³ A. L. Basham has suggested, moreover, that this may have been a Sanskrit alteration of the Kushan Vāsishka.⁴ In any event, the name was particularly meaningful at Mathurā, where the cult of Kṛishṇa, dominant there today, had begun its development. A Kushan period relief shows the legendary King Vāsudeva carrying his son across the Jumna.⁵ Further, the Kushan Vāsudeva's coins numerically emphasize the reverse image of oesho and bull, presumably a reflection of the Indian interests of his empire if not of his own convictions.

Unfortunately, the name Vāsudeva became a common one in later Kushan

history, being found on the coins of at least two other kings. Thus the allusions to a Vāsudeva in both Chinese and Western histories lose some historical value. The *Wei-chih* says that in the year 230, a King Po-t'iao (probably Vāsudeva) of the Yüeh-chih sent an embassy to China, perhaps to seek assistance against the Sasanians.⁶ About the same time, or somewhat earlier, there is record of an alliance between the Armenian King Khosroes I and a Kushan Vehsadjan (also probably Vāsudeva) against Ardashir.⁷

THE HISTORICAL SITUATION

Beginning with the reign of Vāsudeva I, the dynastic history of the Kushanshahr becomes increasingly obscure. A number of important studies have been devoted to this phase of the dynasty, but the difficulties are such that a coherent arrangement has only recently emerged; many aspects of this history still retain the aura of speculation.

There is no question that the Kushanshahr fell from its apogee of power. It was beset by native Indian states like the Maghas of Kauśāmbī, Yaudheyas, Kuṇḍas, or Nāgas. At Mathurā the sequence of dated inscriptions in the era of Kanishka does not go beyond the year 98. Quantities of Vāsudeva coins buried around Taxila suggest an atmosphere of crisis; sites in Afghanistan and Russian Central Asia give evidence of burning and wholesale destruction about this time. On numismatic grounds, the empire seems to have split in two during, or immediately after, the reign of Vāsudeva. Moreover, it is certain that the Sasanians, beginning with Ardashir I and Shāpūr I and continuing through Shāpūr II (mid-third century A.D.), threatened and controlled major parts of its territory.

A major issue for art historians here is that of cultural continuity: it is unclear whether, with the disintegration of the Kushanshahr, there was a radical break in the productivity of the sculpture workshops which the Kushans had patronized. Sir John Marshall concluded that the Gandhāran schools completely stopped with the end of Vāsudeva's rule and the incursions of the Sasanians and that they did not recommence until the coming of the Kidāra Kushans in the late fourth century. Other scholars demur on this point, and the history of Gandhāran sculpture in the second half of the third century and throughout the fourth is an extremely vague one.⁸

Fortunately, the dated carvings from Mathurā provide a substantial, if partial, insight into this period, and the undiminished activity of this school can be traced well into the third century. Knowledge of a King Kanishka, who is not to be confused with Kanishka I and who succeeds Vāsudeva I, emerges from the study of this material. Mme J. E. van Lohuizen has shown that the first reference to this Kanishka is dated in the year 5 of an undetermined era.⁹

Four other epigraphs refer to him, the last being of the year 17, and five others not mentioning his name occur during this twelve-year minimal regnal time span (see Appendix III). It is also possible that the Kharoshthi epigraph of Zeda of the year 11 belongs to this king, there called the *Muruṇḍa Marjhaka Kanishka*.¹⁰

An open question about these inscriptions is one concerning their era, for surely a new sequence of dates was begun which continued until at least the year 57 (see chart, Appendix III). Mme van Lohuizen feels that actually the established sequence of Kanishka I reached its hundredth year and then was continued with the omission of the cipher for 100. There are difficulties in accepting this hypothesis, the first being that there is no immediate precedent for the omission of the hundreds, particularly since contemporary Brāhmī records from neighboring Kauśāmbī or the Kharoshthi ones in Gandhāra give the complete number for dates in the hundreds. It is true that in the so-called *Laukika* era, the hundreds and thousands are omitted, but, as F. W. Thomas pointed out, the numbers involved are otherwise quite unwieldy.¹¹ Moreover, for epigraphs which were intended to be permanent records of piety, such a shorthand approach seems incongruous, even as a local custom.

It seems safer to assume that a new Kushan era began at an undetermined time after the end of the reign of Vāsudeva. The only indications of the length of this intervening period are the stylistic properties of both the coins of the new king and the statues done in his reign. In neither is there evidence of a major break in continuity—comparable say to the differences in Mathurā sculpture between the years 25 and 50 of the Kanishka era, or in the coins of the first Kanishka and of Huvishka's phase III.

COINS OF VĀSUDEVA I AND HIS IMMEDIATE SUCCESSORS

The corpus of coins to be assigned to Vāsudeva I has become so entangled with those of his successors in various studies that it is best to discuss them all together.

THE VĀSUDEVA COINS

Most students agree on a basic, canonical type for Vāsudeva I which is most closely linked in style and monogram to those of Huvishka which (for this very same linkage) must comprise the final phase of Huvishka's minting.

TYPE I. Vāsudeva I "basic type." Coins 205–212.

Obv. King standing frontally, head profile to l. Sacrificing at small altar with r. hand; holds trident spear with l. hand. Wears pointed helmet,

is nimbate, has mustache. Cuirass, skirt, and trousers are armored. A few examples of this type show king with flaming shoulders (e.g., Coin 209). Monogram of Huvishka (7) in rare examples (e.g., Coin 205); otherwise, new monogram (8) predominates.

Legend from 7:00: SHAONANOSHAO BAZ(O)DEO KOSHANO.

Rev. Chiefly of OESHO, with the following variants:

- a (Coin 210). Deity standing in front, three-headed, each head with tall hair knot, ushṇisha or jatāmakuṭa; has flaming shoulders. Four-armed, holding: upper r. diadem, lower r. a lotus flower by stem, upper l. trident, lower l. vase (kalaśa). Behind him stands bull to r.
- b (Coins 205, 206, 212). Deity is tricephalic but two-armed, holding diadem in r. hand and trident in l. Bull faces l.
- b¹ (Coins 208, 209). The same, but bull's head turns to front and is foreshortened. This type is similar to the unique relief carving of Śiva from Akhun-dheṛī (Figure 84).
- c (Coin 207). Similar to b except that deity has single head with heavy side curls; has hair knot (jatāmukuṭa), stands with distinct contrapposto. Bull faces l. This is the standard form for the later Kushan Śiva images on coins. For the rare reverse types of NANA, see above, Chapter III, Coin 143.)

Note that the king here is not dressed in the usual Indo-Scythian tunic and mantle but, rather, wears a heavily armored military costume. Moreover, he is rarely shown with flaming shoulders. In style, this type is usually fine and descriptive, carefully struck; however, a few examples from crude dies do exist. Also, there is a peculiar curved object between the prongs of the trident and the king's head (most clear in Coins 205, 208). It is not apparent whether this is a kind of scythe blade or ribbon attached to the trident or some ornament held by a rod on the king's left shoulder. However, in later coins, the device seems clearly to be a halberd or even a long ankuśa placed behind the king as an added attribute (see Coin 228). Kanishka and Huvishka carry an ankuśa in most of their coin portraits.

There are many variations on this "basic" type retaining the same monogram (8), and scholars have differed as to whether they are the normal products of a long reign and multiple mint officials or whether they indicate a new king with the same name.

TYPE II. "Trident-in-field" type. Coins 213-216.

Obv. King similar in all respects to Type I above; however, in field behind altar is trident with ribbon tied to shaft. King has flaming shoulders.

Legend: as in Type I above.

Rev. Essentially as in Type c (Coin 207) above with no variations in attributes.

Legend, however, is in field to r. and reads counterclockwise from the flan.

In style and fabric, some of these coins are as fine and detailed as those of Type I; however the percentage of crude examples is higher. Bachhofer held that these comprised a separate body of coins, of a Vāsudeva II.¹² There is, however, a common reverse die between Coin 214 and Coin 207 of Type I.

TYPE III. Long-haired king. Coins 217–221.

Obv. King sacrificing at altar to l. Nimbate, has flaming shoulders.

Holds trident in l. hand; another trident is in field behind altar. King is mustached, and has heavy hair falling long over shoulder.

Legend from 1:00 as in Type I.

Brahmi aksharas in field to r. as: ha (Coins 217, 218), pri (Coins 220, 221).

Rev. OESHO type with bull to l., slightly diminished in scale. Legend reads from flan. Brāhmī aksharas in field to r., the syllable pa (Coins 218, 220).

This group is extraordinary in that the portrait type, with its long hair and prominent mustache, sets it apart from the others—as also do the aksharas. Moreover, the portrait is of fine workmanship, with details of the cuirass and armored skirt shown with minute care.

TYPE IV. Triratna. Coins 222–228.

Obv. Royal portrait with trident in field to l., as in Type II above.

Added, however, is the Nandipada motif (Monogram 3) in field to r., accompanied by variable number of dots between legs of king or near the monogram.

Legend, frequently blundered, from 7:00 as in Type I.

Rev. As in Type II above. But OESHO assumes a lunar crescent at his forehead (Coins 226, 228) and frequently a halo.

This type seems to become progressively cruder in fabric and style than the others do; it tends to be larger in diameter, thus thinner and slightly cup-like. The issues are nonetheless closely related to the Vāsudeva Type I coins, especially Coins 222, 223. These have no Brāhmī aksharas. The Nandipada monogram is a revival of one last used in the coinage of Vima but which had a long history before his rule and may have been used here as an emblem of dynastic legitimacy. Finally, in the legends the letters begin to lose their legibility, the distinction between the letters for “A” and “O,” “E” and “N” disappearing.

TYPE V. “Triratna and svastika” type. Coins 229–232.

Obv. Royal portrait and accessories as in IV above, with addition of svastika between the ankles, retention of variable patterns of dots in field.

Legend from 7:00: SHOONOSHOO BOZOE KOSHONO.

Rev. as in Type IV above. Note lunar crescent in Siva's headdress.

Although similar in spirit to Type IV, the fabric has become more cuplike, the obverse convex, the reverse concave; it is often extremely crude.

TYPE VI. Vasudeva in tunic. Coins 233, 234, 235.

Obv. Ruler standing frontally, sacrificing to l. Holds spear in l. hand; trident in field behind altar. King wears pointed helmet with diadem, is mustached, wears armored tunic and sword. Has flaming shoulders.

Legend from 7:00 or 1:00: blundered version of Type I.

Brāhmī legends in field:

l.	c.	r.
rada	gho	rāja

Rev. OESHO type, as in Type IV above.

Noteworthy here is the combination of the tunic worn by Kanishka III and the armor of Vāsudeva I and II. This combination has lead Göbl to identify this coin with a follower of Kanishka III (in my reckoning; Kanishka II in Göbl's) in the south.¹³

COINAGE OF KANISHKA III

Before the various Vāsudeva types can be given historical references, an affiliated group of coins must be analyzed. It is a large and distinctive corpus found from Begram to Bengal bearing the name of King KANESHKO. There is no danger confusing these coins with those of Kanishka I. and I think it almost certain that they belong to the Kanishka of Mathurā inscriptions who follows Vāsudeva I.

TYPE I. King in topcoat. Coins 236-240.

Obv. King standing *en face*, sacrificing to l. over fire altar. Nimbate; wears tall pointed hat with two-pronged device at forehead. Wears long greatcoat with rounded lapels, hem of coat curved upward over knees. Holds staff with ribbon; trident with ribbon is in field behind altar.

Legend from 1:00: SHAONANOSHAO KANESHKO KOSHANO

Brahmi aksharas as:

	right	center	left	reverse
Coin 236	vi			
Coin 237	bhi		ha	ha
Coin 238	vi		ha	
Coin 239	viru		no	ru
Coin 240	vi	tha	na	tha

Rev. ARDOXSHO seated *en face* on high-backed throne with ornate legs.

In l. arm is cornucopia; in r. diadem. At feet is circular design. Nimbate; dressed in flowing classical robes. Brāhmī aksharas in field as shown above.

There is a return in these coins to the royal Indo-Scythian civilian dress without armor—that is, of tunic, pantaloons, and topcoat all lavishly ornamented with pearls. In this type, the royal shoulders do not flame, the royal hair is relatively short. The style and fabric are excellent, and the reverse type ARDOXSHO is the only one employed by this king.

TYPE II. Prince in armor. Coin 241.

Obv. Similar to Type I except that king is dressed in armored skirt and cuirass, is nimbate, has flaming shoulders. Has rather full face and Parthian-style bushy hair behind ears.

Legend from 1:00 as in Type I.

Brāhmī akshara in field to r. pa.

Rev. Similar to Type I above except that deity is less classical in spirit, smaller in scale. Sits on throne without a back. Seems to hold palm branch in her l. arm, to balance bowl or lota on index finger of r. hand.

Legend is read counterclockwise from flan.

ASSIGNMENT OF THE VĀSUDEVA TYPES

Although it is clear that all coins bearing the name Vāsudeva could not belong to the Vāsudeva I of the Mathurā inscriptions, qualified scholars have differed greatly in their assignments of these coins and thus their reconstructions of the history of this later Kushan period. A key to the solution of some of the problems is the group of carvings from Mathurā which establish the substantial rule of Kanishka III who almost directly followed Vāsudeva I. It is reasonable to assign to this king that Kanishka coinage closely linked in style to those of Vāsudeva Type I (Coins 236-241).¹⁴ These Kanishka coins are intimately related in a number of ways to those of Vāsudeva Type III (Coins 217-221): the use of Brāhmī aksharas on both obverse and reverse; the minutely detailed and almost identical style of portraiture, in spite of the differences of royal parure and reverse types; the beginning of the obverse legend at 1:00—an innovation; the similar placement of the identical reverse monograms (8). (Note, however, that the reverse legends are read differently, Kanishka's, except for his Type II, from the center, Vāsudeva's from the flan.)

The coins of the two kings are not identical, my hypothesis being that they were produced by separate mint centers (conceivably Balkh and Peshāwar), but they were both motivated by a similar spirit of minute detail and a disciplined sense of design. It is worth noting that although H. H. Wilson reported many examples of Kanishka III coins found in Afghanistan, he showed none of Vasudeva II.¹⁵

This close affiliation is either of rapid succession or of contemporaneity. Although there is no way to be certain, I prefer the latter, chiefly because of the division of reverse types and also because the Brāhmī aksharas do not all seem

to have the same values, whatever they may have been. The ARDOXSHO type was transmitted to the coinage of the Indian Gupta dynasty, and thus seems to have sanction as a southern type; the OESHO motif continued on the Kushano-Sasanian coins minted in Balkh, and archaeological evidence from the upper Kabul Valley strongly supports the existence of a flourishing cult of Siva there. Several students have proposed this geographical distinction.¹⁶

Göbl places the Vāsudeva coins of the long-haired king (Coins 217-221) in the reign of Vāsudeva I; he places the Kanishka III coins (Coins 236-241 of which he, inexplicably, does not have a complete representation) contemporary with the reign of the Vāsudeva of the nandipada and svastika types (IV and V).¹⁷ I have already stated my argument for the contemporaneity of the two series; most of the qualities which bind them together also separate the Vāsudeva Type III coins from those ascribed to Vāsudeva I—the costume of the king, his long hair, the direction of the legend, the use of the aksharas, the absence of the scythe or añkuśa, the difference in letter types.

To me, these two independent and contemporary series of coins testify to a split of the Kushanshahr into northern and southern parts, and give sanction to interpreting the low dates in the later Mathurā inscriptions as the beginning of a new Kushan era. Whether the split was the result of intrigue, revolution, or the Sasanian wars is by no means certain. There is, however, an interesting but tenuous piece of numismatic evidence—a unique gold dinar entirely in the stylistic spirit of the Kanishka III coins in its meticulous detail and clarity (and in the use of the Brāhmī akshara pi)—Coin 248.¹⁸ The coin shows on the obverse a monarch dressed in the manner of the kings of the Kushano-Sasanian coins, wearing his beard passed through a ring and a heavy bun of hair behind his ears. He wears a Sasanid-type crown with a round balloon-shaped insignia. He has neither halo nor flaming shoulders. The legend is illegible; only the word SHAO can be deciphered, reading counterclockwise from the flan. On the reverse is ARDOXSHO seated on a high-backed throne, the legend blundered. Instead of a diadem in her hand, she holds a helmet of a type worn by Huvishka (Coin 63) and Vāsudeva I and II, the suggestion clearly being that this is the source of specifically Kushan power. Note also that this coin has none of the expanded and scyphate properties of the “later” Kushano-Sasanian series.

This coin belongs stylistically to the group Kanishka III–Vāsudeva II. I cannot say whether it comes at the beginning or end of the sequence; the Mathurā epigraphs allot to Kanishka III from twelve to seventeen years. It seems wisest not to speculate beyond stating that this isolated coin seems to be the earliest numismatic reflection of Sasanian incursions into the Kushanshahr.

Of the remaining Vāsudeva types, I agree entirely with Göbl’s detailed argument that Type II (“Trident in field,” Coins 213-216) belongs with Type I

as coins of the first Vāsudeva.¹⁹ Bachhofer argued that they belonged to Vāsudeva II.

Vāsudeva Types IV and V provide the transition from the Kushan dynastic series to the Kushano-Sasanid one. Most students create yet another king to account for the distinct properties and large numbers of these coins. Such a king would have to be Vāsudeva III in my scheme, although there is no epigraphic sanction for such a ruler. It is possible that the royal names on these coins had become conventionalized, because these issues are plentiful and varied, and seem to cover a substantial period of time.

Type V is the closest of the two to the fabric of the Kushano-Sasanian coins, being thinner and more distinctly scyphate. However, it is unlikely that it is contemporary with the K-S series, for the royal costume system is still entirely Kushan, the style of the images has none of the florid elements of Sasanian fluttering garments and ribbons, the lunar crescent for *oesho* present here does not appear in the K-S coins. Thus the unusual scyphate form seems to have developed in the Balkh area before the minting of the K-S series.

These "transitional" coins comprise a large body of material, but at the moment there seems no way to extract concrete historical data from them except in the following generalizations: Although found in the upper valley of the Kabul River, these coins are most plentiful in Badakhshān;²⁰ they are far from rare; they are all of one weight—about 124 grains troy. None have been found at Taxila. They stand between the established Kushan dynastic series and the K-S coins, which they anticipate in their unusual cuplike fabric. I postulate that they must date from about A.D. 250 to 300.

The coins classed here as Vāsudeva Type VI are rather numerous, but their provenance is vague except for Cunningham's rough reference to the Panjāb and the lower Kabul Valley (Wilson, in *Ariana Antiqua*, shows none).²¹ In fabric and style of the royal image, they are closely related to the plentiful coins of a Kanishka which also bear the *oesho* reverse (Coin 242). They may have been roughly contemporary with the Vāsudeva types IV and V, with which they share a common coarseness of technique and boldness of representation. If these latter two types were minted by the remnants of the Kushanshahr north of the Hindu Kush, this Vāsudeva Type VI must have come from Gandhāra and the Western Panjāb, assuming that the Eastern Panjāb had been lost to the Yaudheyas and the Kuṇḍas by the last half of the third century A.D., the period within which these coins must also date.

SUCCESSION TO KANISHKA III IN INDIA

The lithic record from Mathurā provides the names of other rulers following Kanishka III, but they are all problematic. Two Mathurā exports to Sāñchī in

the years 22 (Figure 34) and 28 of the new era record the king as Rājña Vas-kushāṇa and as Mahārāja rājatirāja devaputra shāhi Vāsashka respectively, the second thus having both the full name and the imperial epithets. On stylistic grounds, the two sculptures are quite similar. Aside from the enigmatic nature of the royal names here, a problem arises from the fact that both carvings are at Sāñchī, whereas no such names are found on works in Mathurā itself.²²

I should like, tentatively, to suggest that the king mentioned in these carvings may be reflected in a series of "Vāsu" coins which can be linked with those of Kanishka III (Coins 243-246). They retain the costume system of Kanishka III as well as the coin legend (although that is nearly illegible). Prominently at the proper left of the king's spear is the Brāhmī legend written vertically: Vāsu. These coins are distinguishable from those of Kanishka III by their having a more exaggerated curve of the hem of the tunic and a cruder, more conventionalized type of royal portrait. The bun of hair at the neck of Kanishka III is omitted here. The Brāhmī legends beneath the feet and by the right foot vary in content:

	Right	Center	Left
Coin 243.	Vāsu	Ga	Sa
Coin 244.	Vāsu	Chhu	Khu
Coin 245.	Vāsu	Chhu	Sa
Coin 246.	Vāsu	Vi	Sa

All these coins bear the ARDOXSHO or "southern" reverse type.

Their provenance is imperfectly recorded. None has been found at Taxila, but, as Marshall says, this is not a fair indication; Sirsukh, where one would expect to find them if this were part of their ambient, remains unexcavated.²³ Wilson shows none; Cunningham said that generally they were common in the Panjāb;²⁴ Smith records four found in Seistān (but Seistān has never seriously been considered part of the Kushanshahr).²⁵

These Vāsu coins must represent the continuation of Kushan authority south of the Hindu Kush during the period following Kanishka III, after approximately A.D. 225. They are not rare. Because of the ARDOXSHO reverse, I am tempted to suggest that they are the easternmost of all these late series (the Brāhmī legend chhu may suggest the Satrapy of Chukhsa about Taxila), but their relationship to the Vāsudeva VI Type can be clarified only after better knowledge of their provenance is obtained.

Probably belonging to this Vāsu series is a class of rare small copper coins whose most interesting feature is the obverse portrait of the king seated on a throne (Coin 247). He holds a diadem with his right hand, and the Brāhmī legend Vāsu is written vertically in the field to the right (not apparent in the specimen illustrated here).²⁶ The enthroned king motif last occurred in Kushan coinage in an equally rare copper sequence of Kanishka I (Coins 39, 40); it is the numismatic parallel of the enthroned royal portraits of Māt and possibly

Surkh Kotal. On the reverse is the familiar ARDOXSHO with Monogram 8.

An interesting and unique gold coin may also belong to this ambient—a gold drachm whose provenance is now unknown.²⁷ I have been able to study it only in photographs; it is reproduced here in a sketch which gives merely the



Fig. 14. Aureus of Kanishka III or successor.

general outline of the motif (Text Figure 14). The coin is slightly scyphate; its obverse shows the usual king standing to left sacrificing over a small altar; the costume type and legend suggest that it is a coin of a Kanishka. The reverse shows a goddess seated en face holding a fillet in her right hand and a staff with three knobs in her left. She seems to have the lunar crescent at her shoulders. Persons who have seen casts of the coin say that she has three heads, but this is not clear in the photographs I have seen. Ends of her diadem flutter over the tips of the crescent. She sits upon a strange vāhana. At her right is the protome of what looks like a lion; to her left is the rear end of a beast with massive legs and hooves. Apparently there is also an elephant head facing the edge of the coin. The Vāsudeva Monogram 8 is in the field at the left, with unclear letters in the field at the right, including a delta shape which may be the Brāhmī va. This icon seems to be a further step in the syncretic combination of female divinities from the Kushan pantheon; she has the attributes of ARDOXSHO (seated frontally, holding a fillet, dressed in classical robes), the lion vāhana of NANA as well as her lunar element. If there is in fact an elephant head on this coin, the motif would then be close to a figure which appears in early Gupta art: Lakshmī seated frontally on a recumbent lion, two elephants performing the lustration above her. This latter motif has been found on a pillar at Bilsad, dated A.D. 415-416.²⁸

THE ERJHUNA YAŚAGA

A pedestal inscription of the year 36 of the new Kushan era has the cryptic name Yaśaga or Yaśaka with the title rejhano.²⁹ V. S. Agrawala has identified this as the Indo-Scythian princely title Erjhuṇa, which occurs in the puzzling

Takht-i-Bāhi inscription of the conjoined years 26 and 103 as a prefix to the name Kapasa (see Chapter I, above).³⁰ The title is roughly Prince, and is purely non-Indian.

Although the name is otherwise unknown, the epigraph is of interest because it retains a clear trace of Indo-Scythian presence and rule at a late date in the chronological sequence. It possibly provides an Indian parallel to the report in the *Liang-chou* that about A.D. 222-252 a Muruṇḍa sovereign (7,000 li from the mouth of the Ganges River) received an embassy from the king of Fu-nan—further evidence of independent Indo-Scythian power in the Gangetic plain in the mid-third century (see Chapter II, above).

After this particular work, the sequence of dated Mathurā inscriptions continues to the years 40 (the reading of this date is uncertain) and 57 and then seems to stop. By the third quarter of the third century A.D. the Kushan reckoning ceased to be in effect at Mathurā.

THE END OF KUSHAN DOMINION IN GANGETIC INDIA

The details of the breaking up of the Kushanshahr into smaller states are lost in the general obscurity which hovers over North Indian history in the later third century; they are suggested only indirectly by the evidence of the activities of other peoples in the same region. There is some reason to believe, for example, that the Yaudheyas had driven as far south as the Bharatpur District adjacent to Mathurā on the south by about A.D. 300.³¹ Also, according to the *Purāṇas*, a line of local kings—the Nāgas—had risen to power at Padmāvati (the modern Pawāya, some 125 miles south of Mathurā) before the rise of the Gupta dynasty.³² Coin finds have substantiated this; the issue of some eleven princes of this line have been identified, localized at Mathurā and Vidiśā but chiefly at Padmāvati. Padmāvati also produced a substantial number of handsome carvings of late Kushan or early Gupta times which merit further study; many of them are in the Gwalior Museum, others in the National Museum of India.³³

Probably related to the decline of the Kushans is the amazing Aśvamedha sanctuary discovered several years ago at Kalsi, north of Delhi on the right bank of the Jumna River, the situation also of one of Aśoka's rock edicts.³⁴ The altars were built with meticulous fidelity to the ritual prescriptions of the *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa*, and they must reflect the rise to full independence and considerable power of an unidentified line of kings in the upper Doāb in the third century. East of Mathurā the decline of the Kushans must have been paralleled by the growth of prosperity of the Magha kings of Kauśāmbī. All these smaller independent states were soon absorbed by the Guptas. The *Allahābād Praśāsti* documents their submission to Samudragupta about A.D. 350, along with the enigmatic *daivaputra shāhi shāhānushāhi-śaka muruṇḍa* (see Chapter II, above).

Samudragupta was separated from Huvishka by only two hundred years; Kālidāsa from Aśvaghosha by perhaps two hundred and fifty. The tangible and intangible legacies of the Kushan kings to the Guptas—in statecraft, aesthetic standards, royal pomp, and the like—were real factors in the creation of India's classical civilization of the fourth and fifth centuries.

THE SASANIAN INTRUSION

EVIDENCE FROM IRAN

The fact that the Sasanian kings captured parts of the Kushanshahr is beyond question. There are questions, however, about the date and duration of the conquests. The most substantial evidence is the so-called Kushano-Sasanian coinage (discussed below). As for the early phase of the invasions, there is a problematic reference in Tabari, writing in the early tenth century, that the king of the Kushans (among others) submitted voluntarily to Ardashir I (reigned A.D. 212-241) after his triumphal march through Abrasharh, Marw, Balkh, Khwārezm, and Khurāsān.³⁵ And another important bit of information is embedded in the trilingual inscription of the Sasanian Emperor Shāpūr I on the outer walls of the Kaaba-i-Zardusht at Naqsh-e Rostam.³⁶ This is a lengthy recital of his conquests and religious establishments, and the name of the Kushan Empire was included in the districts which comprised the eastern marches of his realm. However, the text states very carefully that only a part of the empire fell under his rule—"up to before Pškbwr (Paskibouron in the Greek text) and up to Kash (the Greek Kas)."

Unfortunately, the terms Pškbwr and Kash have presented difficulties. Most scholars have identified the first with Peshāwar, seat of the Kushan kings in Gandhāra. W. B. Henning renders this part of the document: "and the Kushan country up to Peshāwar and up to the limits of Kāshgar, Sogdiana, and Tashkend." He interprets Kash as referring to the Stone Tower on the Silk Road from Balkh along the western border of Kashgar.³⁷ However, André Maricq questioned the reading of Peshāwar, saying that phonetically the ancient Sanskrit name for the city, Purushapura, is congruent with neither the Greek Paskibouron nor the Pahlavi Pškbwr.³⁸

These are matters for philologists, but the Shāpūr inscription clearly documents a Sasanian penetration into the Kushanshahr. One cannot cavil with Ghirshman's reconstruction of the period, to the effect that Shāpūr must have been active in the eastern part of his empire in the early part of his reign, about A.D. 242.³⁹ However, all indications are that any Sasanian occupation of the major Kushan centers in the mid-third century was ephemeral; the most important evidence is the substantial numbers of later Kushan coins—the Vāsu-

deva Types IV and V from Begram, the Kabul Valley, and Badakshān, which belong to the period before the Kushano-Sasanian coinage of Hormizd II (A.D. 303-309). Ghirshman himself feels that there was no major break in the continuity of Kushan rule after the conquest of Shāpūr I.⁴⁰

The Shāpūr inscription gives a sense of the scale of the Kushanshahr as it was seen from Fars about A.D. 260, for it divides the eastern Iranian realm into its major political and cultural centers. The list begins with the district around the modern Gurgān at the southeast corner of the Caspian Sea, and then it distinguishes as separate units the regions around Marw, Herāt, and Nishāpūr. The area around the modern Kirmān is listed independently of the "Land of the Sakas"—Sakastan, the modern Seistān. The barren lands west of the Indus River are divided into three zones: Tugran (the region around Kelat and perhaps Quetta), the Makrān coast west of the Indus delta, and a region called Paratan between the coast and Kirmān. The lower Indus River valley and probably, the desert of Sindh are indicated by the words *Khindastan* in Pahlavi and *India* in Greek. Next the Kushan Empire is listed, and after that comes Sugh (Sogdiana), and, last of all, the Chachastan Mountains—perhaps the district of Shāch, or Tashkend.⁴¹

KUSHANO-SASANIAN COINAGE

The Kushano-Sasanian coins are a body of large, cup-shaped aureii which mingle in suitable measure elements from imperial Sasanian iconography and from the Kushan numismatic tradition.⁴² These coins are primarily from the same general area as the Vāsudeva Types IV and V, above—Badakshān and the region north of the Hindu Kush.⁴³ Some have come from Seistān as well, and a few from the Kabul region and Gandhāra.

This phase of Kushan history is on the periphery of my study here; it belongs to an essentially different historical-cultural epoch—that of the Sasanians and Guptas. My chief concern is the question of the dating of this coinage in order to help establish the upper limits of the period of the so-called Great Kushans. A number of scholars have analyzed these Kushano-Sasanian coins, but the most intricate and comprehensive system was developed by Ernst Herzfeld. He tried to demonstrate that most of them belonged to the period between Ardashīr I (about A.D. 230) and Shāpūr II's coming of age (about A.D. 330) and were issued by some seven princes or kings. However, this scheme has been shown to be untenable, because it was unable to withstand the evidence of the Naqsh-i-Rustam inscription of Shāpūr I. This inscription outlined the reigns of Shāpūr's viceroys in the East and in no way confirmed Herzfeld's system, but rather showed that the Sasanid kings of the Kushanshahr must have ruled after A.D. 263, the approximate time of the epigraph. This inscrip-

tion has sustained Cunningham's belief that the first of the Kushano-Sasanian kings must have been contemporary with the imperial Sasanian Hormizd II (A.D. 303-309), a point upon which Ghirshman and, most recently, Göbl have both agreed.

The K-S coins can be given a primary arrangement in that they bear only two royal names: Hormizd and Vaharām.⁴⁴ It seems likely that all the Hormizd coins belong to the same ruler. Following largely Göbl and Cunningham, I offer the following scheme of the gold coins:

HORMIZD TYPE I. Inaugural type. Coin 249.

Obv. King in Kushan armored dress and pointed helmet. Has beard and Iranian ball of hair at his neck. Nimbate. Smoke rises from the altar. Coin retains svastika and triratna motif of the Vāsudeva V type and has akshara in Brāhmī: pi.

Legend in Kushan cursive Greek script from 1:00: **HORMZDO OZORK ONOSHO KOSHANO.**

Rev. Oesho type as in Vāsudeva Type V, but here figure has lost contrapposto, is bearded and mustached, has flaming hair (as was true of the OESHO type of Vima), but wears tunic and pantaloons.

Illegible reverse legend, probably name of king.

This type retains all the major characteristics of the previous Vāsudeva Type V coins, but has added distinct Sasanian features in the royal garb, the Iranian name of the king, and the metamorphosis of the OESHO figure. This seems clearly the point of transition from the dynastic Kushan into the K-S issues.

HORMIZD TYPE II. King with lion helmet. Coins 250-253.

Obv. King dressed in Sasanian royal garb with lion head on his helmet.

Beard through ring. King wears loose, soft pantaloons, and has Sasanian hair style (but with notable variation that hair is in braids).

Brāhmī akshara pi between spear and leg.

Legend as in Type I.

Mon. 3.

Rev. As in Type I. (Henceforth, the reverse types become so uniform and conventionalized that I shall not analyze them.)

Here the king is shown in a unique Sasanian-type helmet, closely similar to one worn by a noble to the right of Vaharām II (reigned 276-293) at Naqsh-e Rostam (Figure 134), and to one with an eagle crest worn on coins and in reliefs by Hormizd II (reigned A.D. 303-309).⁴⁵ This coin is in a notably fine style, the figure having tall proportions and considerable majestic dignity.

HORMIZD TYPE III. Lion helmet with ball ornament. Coins 254-256.

Obv. As in Type II except that king's helmet has characteristic Sasanian ball-like ornament on shaft. Diadem with ends rising vertically in parallel lines behind king. Nimbus omitted in some coins.

HORMIZD TYPE IV. Profile portrait.⁴⁶

Obv. Bust of king to r. wearing helmet with lion head at top with row of jewels proceeding up mane. Above this is round ball-like ornament. King has heavy ball of hair at back of neck and beard through ring.

Legend in Pahlavi: MAZDISN BAGI AUHARMAZDI LABĀ KUSHĀN MALKAN MALKĀ.

Rev. Conventional Sasanian type of fire altar flanked by two attendants, one (to l.) with helmet as worn by king on obv., and other radiate like rupestrian images of Mithra or MITHRO types of Kushan coins.

For the AE types pendant to this, see Cunningham NC (1893), Pl. IV, the reverses bearing either the bust of Ahuramazdah emerging from the altar fire or the OESHO figure.

VAHARĀM TYPES

After this considerable series of Hormizd coins, there is a sequence with the name OORORON (i.e., Vaharām), some of which bear the name of the issuing mint beneath the monogram.

VAHARĀM TYPE I. Triratna type. Coins 257, 258.

Obv. King standing, as in Hormizd Type IV. Has flaming shoulders but no nimbus. Retains "nandipada" monogram. Helmet consists of two rows of pearl-like ornaments with round plume above. Wears diadem. Beneath monogram is word in Kushan Greek cursive letters: BOXLO (= Balkh).

Legend: BOGO OORORON (N)O O-Z-ORKO KOSHONO SHONO.

Mon. 3.

VAHARĀM TYPE Ia. Coins 259, 260.

Obv. Similar to Type I above, except that new monogram (10) is introduced.

This is the first major variant of monogram type since the development of that of Vāsudeva I. Göbl suggests that it is a synthetic symbol—the upper part derived from the triratna of the established Kushan coins, the lower part from a Hephthalite sign, the combination expressing Sasanian hegemony over the two groups.⁴⁷ As his documentation Göbl uses the reference in Ammianus Marcellinus that in A.D. 356 Shāpūr II wintered among the "Chionites and Cuseni."

Because the monogram change seems to establish another developmental phase in these coins, the Vaharām issuing them was most likely contemporary to Shāpūr II, successor of the short-lived Hormizd. Shāpūr II's long and successful reign included an incursion into India about A.D. 356, which is well documented by Ammianus Marcellinus, by an inscription of an official of Shāpūr II at Persepolis,⁴⁸ and by the considerable number of Sasanian imperial coins found in the Panjāb.⁴⁹

Other Vaharām coins include a Type III (Coin 262) in which the royal crown bears double ram's horns. This motif is found in Sasanian silver salvers, and it also suggests the description in Ammianus of the helmet with a ram's head and horns which was worn by Shāpūr II at the siege of Amida.⁵⁰ There is yet another type of Vaharām coin in which the king's crown suggests to Göbl one worn by Shāpūr III in his regular dynastic coin series.⁵¹ Among these Vaharām coins can also be found a Hephthalite monogram, thus introducing the complex problems of the Hephthalite-Kidara Kushan epoch.⁵²

V. SAKAS AND PARTHIANS

WHEN THE Kushans first entered northern India, they encountered other peoples of nomadic origin who had settled there a century or so before. One group, called the Śakas, must have been closely related to the Kushans in language and customs—they too are considered Indo-Scythians. Another group was the Pahlavas, or Parthians, who seem to have been an offshoot from the wave of nomadic tribal movements which produced the supremacy of the Arsacid dynasty in Iran. There are far fewer archaeological remains of the Śakas and Parthians than of the Kushans, but there is no doubt that they both played a central role in the formation of the cosmopolitan civilization which the Kushans inherited in northern India. Although a full review of the history and artistic remains of these people is beyond the scope of this study, it is important to outline their political and cultural relations with the Kushans.¹

The power of the Śakas and Parthians in India was concentrated in three separate regions. One was in the northwest, where the Śakas settled in Gandhāra, the Swāt Valley, and the western Panjāb. They became closely linked with the Parthian dynasty in Arachosia and later with the Parthian dynasty which supplanted them in Taxila. Second, a militant group of Śakas called the Kshatrapas settled far to the south—in Mālwa, Gujaradesā, and Kāthiāwār. They fought with the Sātavāhanas, native Indian rulers of the Āndhra kingdom, and retained their independence for nearly four hundred years. Mathurā was the third major center of Śaka dominion, but its princes were, for the most part, subjects of those in the northwest.

The relationship between the Kushans and their precursors from Central Asia is unclear. They may have been closely connected by affinities of race, language, and custom; however, the Śakas seem to have held to their own dy-

nastic traditions and modes of government as long as possible. There is no numismatic, epigraphic, or literary evidence of a formal alliance of the Śakas with the Kushans. The sweeping statement of Konow, "The Western Kshatrapas were, as everybody seems to agree . . . formally the governors of the Kushanas,"² is entirely without substantiation, even if it is within the realm of possibility. That the Kushans and Śakas were allies because they were both foreigners of analogous origin is in itself no more evidence of an alliance than it would be for the British, Dutch, Portuguese, and French in India in the eighteenth century. That the term Kshatrapa (Satrap) used as a regal title implies the submission of the Śakas to the higher authority of the Kushans has never been proved.³

Indian history provides several examples of relationships between rulers in northern India and the northwest Deccan which might serve as analogies for that of the Kushans and Śakas. The Hindu states of Rājasthān in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries lay under the suzerainty of the Mughal Empire, but were often rebellious. Jasawant Singh, the celebrated Rajput Prince of Mārwar, was ambivalent in his loyalty to the Emperor Aurangzeb, whom he once served, then reviled, then attacked, to whom he surrendered and then served again—plotting against him when possible, submitting when it was inevitable.⁴ An earlier example is the short alliance between the Gupta kings and the Vākātakas of the western Deccan, effected through the marriage of the daughter of Chandragupta II to a Vākātika king toward the end of the fourth century. This gave the Guptas strong influence over Vākātika affairs at the time when they were expanding into Mālwa and need a strong ally to the south.⁵ The Vākātakas nonetheless remained a separate and independent state. For the Kushans it is possible that commercial interests, if nothing else, would have brought about a *modus vivendi* between them and the Western Kshatrapas, ensuring safe passage of cargoes to the ports at the mouth of the Indus or at Barygaza, which were in Saka hands most of the time.

ORIGINS OF THE ŚAKAS

The name Śaka (or Saka in Iran) is an ancient ethnic designation familiar to such classical authors as Herodotus, Arrian, Strabo, and Pliny. Herodotus remarked that the Persians called all Scythians Sakas; at Persepolis and Naqsh-e Rostam, relief carvings and inscriptions distinguish the Saka Tigrakhauda (the "pointed hat" Sakas; Figure 128), the Saka Haumavarka (possibly the Sakas of the Jaxartes plain), and the Saka Paradraya or Taradraya (the Sakas beyond the Black Sea). Others lived "beyond Sogdiana" ("para Sugdam").⁶

Unquestionably, the Śakas of India originated in Central Asia, but at what time and among which of the known groups is not clear. There was, for exam-

ple, an important group of Sakas active in the eastern provinces of the Parthian empire. Brought as mercenaries against the Seleucids by Mithradates I and his successor Phraates II about the middle of the second century B.C., these Sakas turned against the Parthians and captured significant parts of the empire. Mithradates the Great, with the aid of the powerful feudal lord called the Suren, succeeded in expelling the Sakas from Parthia and Seistān; and around 120-110 B.C., they apparently entered the middle Indus region via the Bolan and Mulla passes.⁷ Several scholars believe that this was the basis of the entire Saka conquest of northern and western India.⁸

On the other hand, there is Chinese evidence of Sakas moving toward India from the north, their fate mixed with that of the Yüeh-chih. The *Ch'ien Han-shu* (Book 96A.10b) states: "In ancient times, when the Hsiung-nu beat the Ta Yüeh-chih, the Ta Yüeh-chih moved westward as far as Ta-hsia [Bactria], which they ruled as kings, and the Sai-wang [the Prince of the Sai, identified philologically as Sakas] moved southward as far as Ki-pin, which he controlled as chief. Thus the population of the Sai were scattered and in some places they constituted several countries, such as the Hsiu-hsun and Chuan-tu [uncertain], both of which are to the northwest of Su-le [Kāshgar]; all originate from the Sai."⁹

Unfortunately, the term Ki-pin, as the name of the place where the Sakas migrated, is not clear. In later Chinese texts, it stands for either Kāpiśa or Kashmir, but there is no archaeological or numismatic basis for associating either region with the tribal movements from Central Asia in the middle and later part of the second century B.C. It is possible that the region was the Swāt Valley (Uḍḍiyāna) and Gandhāra, although there are scholars who question this. Significantly, Pan-ku described the coins of Ki-pin as adorned with a mounted figure on one side and a portrait on the other; this brings to mind certain coin types of the later Indo-Greeks and Sakas, especially those of Heraos (Coin 12).

Having stated clearly that the Sakas settled in Ki-pin, the *Ch'ien Han-shu* (96A.11a) next tells of the contacts between the kings of this region and Han China. This passage has a wealth of names and dates, but it is the most difficult to interpret of all references to the Indian border regions. It tells that the Han Emperor Wu (ruled 140-86 B.C.) sent envoys to Ki-pin, but its King Wu T'o-lao plundered and killed them. When this king died, his son and successor sent an envoy with tribute to the Chinese court. The Han emperor in turn sent the "General Commander of the Passes" Wen-chung to escort a new embassy to Ki-pin. Amid considerable intrigue, the Chinese general conspired with the king of Jung-ch'u (an unidentified state), attacked Ki-pin, and put the son of this king on Ki-pin's throne. Later, this vassal King Yin-mo-fu turned against the Chinese envoys and executed more than seventy persons. He asked forgiveness of the Han Emperor Hsiao-yüan (48-33 B.C.), who, however, considered the events too distant and broke off contact with Ki-pin. In 25 B.C. the king of

Ki-pin sent another embassy to China seeking absolution for the crime, but again the Chinese ignored him and treated his ambassadors as tradesmen.

Different scholars have identified Yin-mo-fu with Hermacus, Maues, and even Kanishka;¹⁰ lacking corroborative evidence, however, none of these identifications is convincing. The time and setting of this story coincide with those of the Śaka incursions and the collapse of the last Indo-Greek kingdoms in the Indo-Iranian borderlands, but its significance remains obscure.

THE NORTHERN GROUP OF SAKAS¹¹

MAUES

Among the Sakas in India, probably the oldest royal name is Maues—on his coins it appears as Moasa in Kharoshthī, MAYOY in Greek. Minted in silver and copper, these coins are similar to those of the later Indo-Greek King Apollodotus I, and the two men were probably related in time and space.¹² Symbolically, Maues' coinage is extremely varied and complex, even if for the most part it retained the Hellenic emblems which had been current in the coinage of the area. This fact is significant in that it indicates the receptivity of such Central Asian tribesmen to Greek cultural influences and a certain continuity of Hellenic customs after the fall of the Greek kingdoms. A common motif is that of Zeus and Nike (Coin 267, probably minted at Taxila); Artemis appears, the Greek goddess who had been equated with both ΝΑΝΑΙΑ and Anāhitā (see Chapter III). Maues' coins show a Hellenic city goddess enthroned (Coin 268), along with a type of the standing Tyche holding a wheel. Representations of the Sea God Poseidon might seem out of place in the coinage of an inland empire, but they are thought to have symbolized the naval control necessary to dominate the extensive river system of the Panjāb.¹³ Another common motif is the caduceus of Hermes, messenger of the gods, who seems to have been a popular deity among the Śakas. Herakles appears frequently, as does the interesting motif of the Sun God Helios (or Sūrya) in his chariot.

While preserving some of the heritage of Hellenic custom in the region, the coinage of Maues also introduced both nomadic and Indian traits. Most significant is the motif of the equestrian king with spear (Text Figure 15). This type of heavily armored rider (the horses do not seem to be protected) is related to the Parthian and later Sasanian cataphracts and to the armored cavalry of the Sarmatians. This indication of Śaka armament and tactics tends to link them more closely with the Parthians than with the Kushans, for whom equestrian imagery had little symbolic importance. This motif is a characteristic of the coins of Maues' successor Azes I (Coins 269, 270); one of its prototypes may have been the rare equestrian portraits of the Indo-Greeks, notably

of Hippostratus. Another military feature of Maues' coinage is the bow case, shown as an independent emblem. The bow is carried by unarmored riders on the coins of Maues' successors in the region (Coin 272, 278, 279), which indicates that tactically the Sakas employed mounted archers—mobile, light cavalry—as well as the heavily armored spear bearers. This combination was the standard method of attack of both the Parthians and Sarmatians, although the heavy cavalry was usually made up from the higher ranks of the aristocracy.



Fig. 15. Armored horseman. Saka coin motif.

Another innovation of Maues' coinage is the reverse portrait of the king seated cross-legged. Although this had not been used by the Greeks of the region, the full-length coin portrait of a king appealed to the Indo-Scythians and was repeated by the successors of Maues (Coin 271) and by the Kushans (Coins 20, 44, 45). The existing examples on Maues' coins are all extremely worn and faint, and the motif has been confused with the Buddha image. Buddhist emblems do not appear on Saka coins even though throughout India they became energetic patrons of the faith, and, like the Kushans, must have been relatively open-minded. An early form of the cult of Śiva which flourished in the Indo-Iranian borderlands is reflected in a rare coin type of Maues, showing a striding male figure with club and trident or vase—probably a prototype of the Kushan *oesho*.¹⁴

This large and varied body of Maues' coins attests a long reign; they are found copiously at Taxila (where most were minted), in Gandhāra and the Swāt Valley, but only rarely in the Kabul Valley. Also from an unknown site in the Taxila area comes the chief epigraphic evidence for Maues' reign, a copper plate with a lengthy Kharoshthī inscription.¹⁵ Dated in the year 78 of an unknown era, it is one of the oldest major Saka inscriptions in India and provides much revealing information. It was dated in the reign of the Maharaja Mahamta Moga, the great King Moga the Great. The identity of this Moga and the Moasa (Maues) on coins is not certain, but it nevertheless seems likely.

The name of the month is the Greek Panemos, and the inscription records the enshrinement of a relic of Sākyamuni and the building of a monastery near Taxila—an early indication of the attraction of Buddhism for the Indo-Scythians.

The patron of the building was called Patika, a name which also appears in the Mathurā Lion Capital inscription as an important Śaka official (discussed below). The Taxila copper plate further states that Patika's father was the Kshatrapa (Satrap) of Chukhsa, probably the modern Plain of Chach which extends west of Taxila across the Indus to the eastern boundary of Gandhāra. Chukhsa was an ancient administrative or political unit which seems to have been maintained by the Kushans as well, and was indicated on their coins by the Brāhmī letter *chhu* (Coins 244, 245).¹⁶ The name of Patika's father was Liaka Kusuluka, which seems to be a homophone (at least) of the name of Kujula; his family or clan name was Kshaharāta, found also among the Śakas of Mathurā and the Western Ghāts.

Two other dated Gandhāran inscriptions can be linked with this one in time and epigraphic traits: the Mānsherā Buddhist and the Fatehjang epigraphs, both of the year 68.¹⁷ The origin of the era in which these were dated is still an open question, but most students believe that an "old Śaka" era must have been founded in the middle part of the second century B.C.¹⁸ One basic limiting factor is the evidence from the well-known Garuḍa column at Besnagar that the Indo-Greek King Antialcidas was reigning, probably at Taxila, about 125-100 B.C., which necessarily would place Maues later.¹⁹ Maues' coins are closely linked in style and symbolism also with those of Telephus, who was one of the immediate successors of Antialcidas. It seems reasonable on these and other grounds to think that Maues was ruling about 75 B.C., in which case the inscription of year 78 made during his reign was dated in an era which may have begun within one or two decades of 150 B.C.²⁰ One can only speculate on the reasons for the establishment of this era: the nomadic conquest of Bactria, the coronation of a great king, an astrological event—the evidence for it seems irrevocably lost.

The theory that Maues was not a Śaka but a Parthian is occasionally encountered. This is based chiefly on Maues' use of the Parthian title *Basileus Basileon* on his coins and the fact that his successors were closely involved with the Parthian kings of Arachosia.²¹ It is true that in this border region the Śakas and Parthians seem to have been allied and that their historical traces are intermingled. Nonetheless, the Chinese annals clearly indicate the penetration of the Śakas into the region, and the names and some of the coin symbols of Maues and his successors suggest an origin in Central Asia apart from the Pahlavas.²² In Mathurā and among the Western Kshatrapas the Śakas seem to have been entirely free from association with the Parthians, and should, I believe, be considered a separate ethnic group.

AZES I

The chief Indo-Scythian successor to Maues at Taxila is called Azes. On his coins, this is written in Greek AZOY , in Kharoshthi Ayasa. His coin types, like those of Maues, continue the emblems of the Indo-Greeks: Zeus (Coin 270), Athene (Coin 269)—both probably minted at Pushkarāvati (Chārsadda)—Demeter, Tyche, Hermes (Coin 271), and Herakles. They prominently employ the obverse type of the equestrian king with spear; one type shows the king mounted on a Bactrian camel (Coin 272)—an interesting reflection of nomadic customs. The king is also shown seated cross-legged.

This coinage is extremely abundant, coming from the Swāt Valley, Taxila, Arachosia, but less so from the Paropamisadae, where Azes may have penetrated after the fall of Hermaeus—a highly debatable issue.²³ It is also felt that Azes extinguished the rule of the last Yavana king in the eastern Panjāb, Hippostratus.

The complexities of political power during this period are revealed in the peculiar joint issues, coins marked with the names of two rulers, which were a characteristic of the Sakas and Indo-Parthians in the northwest. Azes seems not to have followed Maues directly, but to have been related to a group of Parthian princes of Arachosia in some manner.²⁴ There is a joint issue between him and a Spalarises $\Sigma\text{ΠAΛIPIΣOY}$ which possibly indicates a subordinate position for Azes. Jenkins has shown that the Indo-Greeks Apollodotus II and Hippostratus most likely recaptured Gandhāra and Taxila from the Sakas following Maues, and that Azes in turn reclaimed these regions after his joint issue with Spalarises.

The Arachosian princes bore Parthian names, but they were at least nominally independent of the imperial Arsacids, for they adjusted their coinage to the emblems, weights, and script of the Hellenized traditions of the Paropamisadae and Gandhāra. The founder of the line was Vonones, who minted coins jointly with his brother Spalahora and his nephew Spalagadames. These were succeeded by Spalarises, who in turn issued coins jointly with Azes, thus linking Azes with these princes of the region of Ghazni. Apparently Azes later gained hegemony over Arachosia as well as over Gandhāra, the western Panjāb, and possibly even Mathurā.

AZILISES

Azes I was succeeded by a prince who minted an extensive series of coins with the Greek legend AZIAIΣOY and the Kharoshthi Maharajasa rajatirajasa mahatasa Ayiisasa (Coins 273-276). Aesthetically, these are the most handsome of any of the Śaka-Pahlava series, and they provide a clear transition between the earliest and latest stages of that coinage. Presumably among Azilises' first issues is a joint one with Azes I, bearing the obverse type of the equestrian king

holding a spear (Coin 273). Other coins, issued independently, are of the equestrian king with *aṅkuṣa* (goad) or whip (Coin 274), which is also the main type of his successor Azes II.

The reverses of Azilises' coins are of great interest symbolically. For example, one of his types is of the goddess holding a palm branch and proffering a vessel of fire (Coin 273). This goddess must be either Tyche or Victory and the fire an emblem of the concept of Royal Good Fortune (*Kavaem Khvareno*, see Chapter VIII). This type had appeared also on the coins of Azes I (PMC no. 179); later, among the Kushans, the vessel of fire was to be offered by the god *PHARRO* (Coins 177-179). In Indian terms, Royal Good Fortune could also take the form of the goddess *Śrī-Lakṣmī*, who appears on the coins of Azes I and Azilises (Coin 274) as *Gaja-Lakṣmī* standing beneath two elephants, who pour water over her head.

Azilises' coins show the Dioscuri as mounted horsemen (Coin 276), as a pair of dismounted standing figures, or even as single figures. The cult of the twin heroes (called Castor and Pollux by the Romans) was part of the belief in active savior gods which had flourished widely in the Hellenistic world. In Greek literature the Dioscuri were the refuge and protectors of sailors; also, in battles they would appear on white horses to give victory to the side they favored. The coins of Azilises which show the Dioscuri probably had the primary meaning of military triumph, as expressed also on their obverses, which usually bear images of Zeus holding the small figure of Nike, the winged goddess of victory. On another of Azilises' coin types Nike is shown in full scale, together with Zeus (Coin 275).

AZES II

A second series of coins bearing the name of Azes is characterized by the equestrian king holding a whip (as opposed to the coins of Azes I, in which the king holds a spear). Azes II minted a handsome copper coin with a bull on the obverse and a lion on the reverse (Coin 277). The possible political or religious meaning of these animals has prompted a great deal of speculation, but there is no dependable factual basis by which they can be explained. Both the Greeks and Śakas employed such animal emblems, but the Kushans, following the bull and camel type of Kujula (Coin 7), abandoned them.

Azes II's coins possess an increased admixture of lead in the silver alloy, probably the result of extensive trade relations with the Andhras in southern India, where the metallic value of money was much lower. Azes II also minted an issue jointly with a man who was called in Kharoshthī *Indravarmaputra Aspavarma strategasa* (Aspavarma, son of Indravarma, the Strategos), retaining the Greek title for a general. This same man was mentioned on a coin type closely related to those of the Parthian Prince Gondophares, which thus links

the reigns of Azes II and Gondophares with the span of an adult's career. This unusual custom of joint issues is of great assistance in outlining the chronology. Gondophares probably lived in the middle third of the first century A.D., which would place Azes II within a decade or two of the birth of Christ.²⁵

GONDOPHARES

In the highly abstract body of evidence for Saka and Parthian history in India, the only prince whose name took on a legendary aura is called Gondophares (on his coins [Γ]ΥΝΔΟΦΕΡΟΥ in Greek, Guduphara in Kharoshthi). These coins bear the distinctly Parthian motif of the bearded and ornately armored royal portrait (Coins 280, 281) as well as Iranian titulature and personal names. Although there is no doubt of Gondophares' Parthian origins, his coinage retained many Indo-Greek and Saka elements—the equestrian king, Nike, Siva—and is basically distinct from the imperial Arsacid issues. Most were minted at Taxila, which was probably Gondophares' chief seat of power.

The earliest of his coins seem to be those issued jointly with an Arachosian Prince Orthagnes (whose name is close to that of ORLAGNO, Lord of Battles on Kushan coins; see Chapter III). Later, Gondophares became ruler of a vast domain, including Arachosia, Seistān, Sindh, Gandhāra, and the Kabul Valley into the Paropamisadae, but he does not seem to have extended his rule east of the Panjāb. The excavations at Taxila have revealed that this rule was a period of great prosperity and cultural achievement characterized by the spirit of philhellenism. The affinity for Greek culture had been one of the distinctive early traits of the Parthians in Iran, but it had been eclipsed by the revival of Iranian nationalism and the bitter warfare with the Romans throughout the last half of the first century B.C. After the settlement of the Augustan peace, however, Greek and Roman influence again flowed along the trade routes to the Orient. The Saka-Parthian strata at Sirkap yielded great quantities of such Occidental luxury goods as metal work, jewelry, gems, seals, and statuettes.²⁶ The stucco decorations on the Apsidal Temple at Sirkap reveal a strong Hellenistic flavor; the Ionic temple at Janḍiāl, the most Hellenic structure yet found on Indian soil, may well have been a Parthian fire sanctuary of this period.²⁷ The archaeological evidence from Taxila is confirmed to a degree by literary sources. The legends of the mission of Saint Thomas the Apostle state that he had been summoned to the court of King Gudnaphar (or Gundofor) of India, who wanted a carpenter who might build a palace in the Roman style.²⁸ The *Life of Apollonius of Tyana*, written about A.D. 217, gives evidence that a ruler with the Parthian name Phraates was installed at Taxila about A.D. 43-44.²⁹ The historicity of these legends cannot be taken at face value, but there are many reasons to believe that the Indo-Parthians were ruling at Taxila in the first half of the first century A.D.

The epigraphic record of Gondophares consists of a single inscription at Takht-i-Bāhī (see above, Chapter I) which bears two dates: the regnal year 26 of the Maharaja Guduvhara, which was the 103rd year of an unknown era.³⁰ The recipient of the honor of the gift of a chapel at Takht-i-Bāhī was the Erjhuṇa Kapa—Erjhuṇa being a Scythic title for prince. It is often suggested that this was none other than Kujula Kadphises and that Kushan hegemony was established in the region above Peshāwar toward the end of the reign of Gondophares. The identity of Kapa with Kujula Kadphises is, however, very doubtful. The name of Kusuluka Patika in the Taxila inscription of Moga indicates that homophones of Kushan names are to be found in the area at this time.

Nevertheless, the Kushans seem to have captured Taxila soon after the close of Gondophares' rule, for his successors can be traced for what must have been only a brief period. For example, there are the coins bearing Gondophares' name and that of a Sasa or Sasan (Coin 281), a prince who also minted independently at Taxila and must have been among the final Parthian rulers before the Kushan conquest. Another of these, perhaps from a different sector of the empire, was Pacores (Coin 282), whose Kharoshthī legends have close epigraphic affinities to the early Kushan ones. Indo-Parthian rule at Taxila did not long survive Gondophares.

THE SOUTHWESTERN GROUP OF SAKAS

The Western Satraps were warlike princes whose chief seats of power were Ujjayinī in Mālwa and Junāgaḍh in Kāthiāwār.³¹ One suggestion is that they originated among the group of Sakas known from Western sources to have been expelled from Seistan by Mithradates II. There is some Indian confirmation of this suggestion in an episode in the medieval legend of the Jaina saint, Kālaka, the *Kālakācārya kathānaka*.³² This source describes a group of Saka kings called Sāhis who were induced to come to India from "Sagakūla." They crossed the Indus, captured Kāthiāwār, and divided it among themselves. Next, they captured Ujjayinī, installed a Sāhi as King of Kings, and began a dynasty. Later, the Indian King Vikramāditya of Mālwa uprooted this foreign dynasty and established his own era. After 135 years he was ousted by another Saka king.

In spite of certain fantastic elements, this legend accounts for the establishment of two major calendrical eras which date from this period and have been widely recognized in India to the present. The earlier, beginning in 57 B.C., is called the Vikrama Samvat; the later is the Saka Samvat, dating from A.D. 78. The Jaina legend explains the earlier as having marked the triumph of native Indians over Saka invaders, but many scholars believe that the era of 57 B.C. must have been in effect in Gandhāra among the Sakas and Parthians

as well until the establishment of the later era of A.D. 78. Lacking corroborative data from coins and inscriptions, it is difficult to judge the historical value of this tale; it does seem to be more an explanation after the fact of the two eras than a genuine record of their creation. Moreover, even if it is possible that the Western Satraps originated among the Sakas expelled from Iran by Mithradates II, they must have had strong links with the Sakas settled around Taxila and Mathurā.

THE DYNASTY OF NAHAPĀNA

The first substantial numismatic and epigraphic evidence for the activities of the Western Satraps bear the name of Nahapāna, son of Bhūmaka (Coin 283). Nahapāna is mentioned in a series of inscriptions from Kārli, Nāsik, and Junnar—all Buddhist cave sanctuaries in the Western Ghāts ranging from a hundred miles north of Bombay to the region above Poona.³³ The inscriptions record the pious donations of the relatives and ministers of this ruler, who is given the titles of King (Rājan), Great Satrap (Mahākshatrapa), Prince (Svāmin, the Sanskrit equivalent of the Scythian Muruṇḍa), and the family name of Khaharāta or Kshaharāta. The inscriptions are dated in the years 41, 42, 43, 45, and 46 of an unspecified era; one of them overtly refers to a member of a group of donors as a Saka. The same family name appears also in the Taxila copper plate of the year 78 and at Mathurā,³⁴ thus indicating some degree of unity or interconnection among the widely scattered Saka princes.

The significance of the dates 41 through 46 of the inscriptions is an extremely complex and controversial problem, bound up with the chronology both of the cave shrines of the Western Ghāts and of the Sātavāhana dynasty which contested this region with the Sakas. The crucial question is whether Nahapāna employed the Saka era (begun A.D. 78) or an older one similar to that used in the Taxila copper plate. The theory that Nahapāna's dates belong to the Saka era (A.D. 120–125) seems the more reasonable.³⁵ If it is true, however, it is difficult to explain the fact that although the Sakas must have been active in the area long before that time, the first positive historical traces would be considerably later than those of the Sakas in the northwest or at Mathurā.

THE DYNASTY OF CAŚTANA

In the next phase of Kshatrapa dominion, the Saka era was unquestionably employed. From coins and epigraphs comes evidence of a line of kings whose founder was called Caśtana and whose rule lasted until the fourth century.³⁶ Caśtana is mentioned in Brāhmī inscriptions at Andhau, a remote site in Kutch, which indicate that he and his grandson Rudradāman were ruling jointly in the year 52.³⁷ Assuming that these inscriptions were dated in the Saka era, they would have been carved in A.D. 130, before which Caśtana would have been in

full possession of power. The general validity of this dating is attested by a reference in Claudius Ptolemaeus' *Geography* (written about A.D. 140, but based on slightly older sources) to the effect that a King Tiastenes ruled in Ozein—most probably Caṣṭana in Ujjayini.³⁸ The verification of the dates of Caṣṭana and his grandson Rudradāman makes them among the most important and dependable landmarks in the often uncertain chronology of early Indian political history.

The coins of Caṣṭana show close stylistic and epigraphic linkage with those of Nahapāna,³⁹ despite the fact that the rulers belonged to different families. Caṣṭana has also been suggested as the subject of a portrait unearthed near Mathurā among a series of Kushan royal effigies (Figure 3, see Chapter VI). This identification is by no means certain, and I have retained the name the "statue of Caṣṭana" only because this is the conventional identification of the piece. If it were the correct one, the most logical explanation of the statue's presence in a Kushan dynastic shrine would be as testimony to a voluntary alliance between the Kushans and the Western Kshatrapas; however, there is no other concrete evidence to support this assumption.

Undoubtedly the most powerful of the Śaka princes in the south was Rudradāman I, Caṣṭana's grandson and successor as Great Satrap. His chief memorial is at Gīrnar, near Junāgaḍh in Kāthiāwār⁴⁰: a long inscription in pure Sanskrit carved on a rock which had also been used for one of Aśoka's edicts and, later, an epigraph of the time of Skandagupta. This inscription, dated in the year 72 (A.D. 150), records the subjection of a wide span of territory from the upper Narbada region, eastern and western Mālwa (including Vidiśā), northern Konkan, Kutch, Surāṣṭra, most of Kāthiāwār, and the lower to middle Indus region (Sindhu-Sauvira). Although it is not mentioned in the inscription, David Pingree has discovered evidence in an astronomical text of the second century A.D. that Rudradāman captured Kauśāmbī.⁴¹ If this hypothesis is correct—that Kshatrapa power intruded into the heart of the Ganges basin—the history of the Śakas and Kushans in the mid-second century would be greatly affected, and one awaits the detailed reports of the Kauśāmbī excavations for corroborative evidence. The inscription does describe Rudradāman as having twice defeated the Sātavāhana King Sātakarṇi. He must thus have regained the upper hand in the long struggle for control of the Western Ghāts and the trading ports on the Indian Ocean waged between the Kshatrapas and the dominant native Indian power in the upper Deccan.

More directly concerned with Kushan history, however, is the notation in the Gīrnar inscription that Rudradāman defeated the Yaudheyas, "who would not submit because they were proud of their title 'heroes among the Kshatriyas.'" On the chessboard of Indian statesmanship, the position of the Yaudheyas in northern Rājputana and the southeastern Panjāb threatened the main line of communication of the Kushanshahr from Gandhāra to Mathurā.⁴²

Together with the Kuṇiṇḍas and other native tribes of the area, the militant Yaudheyas must have been a constant factor in Kushan polity. A certain degree of cultural contact is revealed by Yaudheya coins of the third century, whose symbolism was partly derived from that of the Kushans (Coin 285). Hoards of Yaudheya coins have been found between the Sutlej and the Jumna, in districts such as Sonapat, Delhi, Ludhiana, and Kangra, where Kushan coins are extremely rare. Rudradāman must have come into conflict with the Yaudheyas in Sindh—not long before A.D. 150. The testimony that these two strong powers were in contact across the main axis of the Kushan domain must coincide with other evidence of difficulties in the empire in the period following the death of Kanishka I and the early years of the reign of Huvishka. The Sui Vihār inscription of the year 12 of Kanishka indicates that Kushan authority had extended into Sindh before Rudradāman's time.

The successors of Rudradāman are well documented in coins and inscriptions. Unfortunately, because of the hazards of archaeology or the toll of destructive wars, it is impossible to assemble enough works of art to represent the active cultural life of the Kshatrapa court at Ujjayinī. The city was a major center of Indian literature, and continued in full flower even after it came under the control of the Guptas.⁴³ The last dated coins of the Kshatrapa kings are of the year A.D. 388,⁴⁴ but the last prince directly in the line of Caṣṭana himself ended his rule about A.D. 300. The Udayagiri (Vidiśā) epigraph of A.D. 401 indicates that it was Chandragupta II who succeeded in subduing the ancient, independent Śaka kingdom.⁴⁵

THE MATHURĀ SATRAPS

There is copious and unmistakable evidence at Mathurā for a well-established dynasty of foreign princes who preceded the Kushans. The oldest traces are a series of coins minted about the middle of the first century B.C. by four rulers given the title in Brāhmī Khatapa, that is, Satrap. Their names are Śivaghosha, Śivadatta, Hagānasha, and Hagāna (the last two seem to be Śaka names).⁴⁶ Except for a distinctive monogram, their crude copper coinage closely resembles that of the local Hindu princes who had preceded them in the late second and early first centuries. It is possible that these Kshatrapas were subordinates of Azes I.⁴⁷

RĀJŪVULA AND THE LION CAPITAL

For the next phase of Śaka activity, the chief document is the Mathurā Lion Capital now in the British Museum.⁴⁸ An architectural member composed of addorsed lion-griffins, the stone is inscribed on all sides in Kharoshthī script; but it is so worn, the order of the sentences so uncertain that it is one

of the most vexing historical documents imaginable. It may be the record of a ceremonial gathering at Mathurā of a large number of Saka princes. Much valuable information is on the stone, but because the readings and interpretations are hopelessly enmeshed in controversy, only a limited amount of data can be safely extracted.

The inscription makes reference to a Mahākshatrapa Rajula, his family, and associates. Rajula is a contraction of the name of the well-known Prince Rājūvula, whose power was based in the eastern Panjāb. His queen is called Ayasia Kamuia, a name which has been given to a Gandhāran statue (Figure 50) mistakenly thought to have been her portrait when it was excavated from the same mound at Mathurā as the Lion Capital.⁴⁹ Benjamin Rowland has shown in the Foreword that the statue is probably one of Hārītī. The father of this queen is listed twice in the inscription as the Crown Prince (Yuvarāja) Kharaosta. The same name appears on some rare coins found only in the northwest Panjāb, on which the ruler is called in Kharoshthī the Satrap Kharaosta, son of Arta.⁵⁰ Although there is no certainty that this is the same person mentioned on the Lion Capital, the coincidence of names is striking. The son of Rājūvula is also listed: the Kshatrapa Suḍasa. As is shown below, this prince succeeded his father at Mathurā, and is well known from his coins and other inscriptions.

One of the most controversial passages on the Lion Capital is the mention of the "illustrious King Muki" (Mukīśrīraya). This is often explained as meaning Maues, and thought to refer in some way to his funeral ceremonies;⁵¹ but it is difficult to explain why Maues' name would lack its proper titles or occur so late in time. Another problematic passage lists a Mahākshatrapa Kusuluka Patika. Both Patika as the name of one man and Kusuluka as that of his father appear on the Taxila copper plate of the year 78 in the reign of King Moga. It is difficult to account historically for their appearance in a different form at Mathurā,⁵² but at least they affirm that the Mathurā Satraps had strong connections with those in the northwest—the city of Taxila itself is mentioned in the text, but the meaning is not clear. A number of Saka names which have not been found elsewhere are also listed: a (?) Prince Khalamaśa, a Kshatrapa Mevaki Miyika, a Kshatrapa Khardaa. There may be a reference to the "whole of Sakastana";⁵³ and the deep involvement of the Śakas with Buddhism is indicated by mention of their support for the Sarvāstivādin sect against the Mahāsaṃghikas.

The content of the Lion Capital inscription seems to be consistent with an outline of Rājūvula's history as it can be reconstructed from a study of his coinage.⁵⁴ His most common issues (Coin 284) show his portrait facing to the right with a rather aquiline nose, sensuous mouth, a simple diadem, and short hair—the same portrait type found on the coins of Nahapāna (Coin 283) and

other Indo-Scythian derivations from the Indo-Greek ruler portraits (Coins 12, 13). The reverse shows Pallas Athene holding the aegis in her left hand and hurling a thunderbolt with the right. The Kharoshthi legend *apratihata cakrasa chatrapasa rajuvulasa* (the Satrap Rājūvula whose discus [cakra] is irresistible) clearly refers to the cakra as a war weapon, in contrast to its Buddhist use as an emblem of the Dharma. The Kushans probably retained the militant meaning for the wheel in their dynastic arts (Coins 96, 97, 163). These coins of Rājūvula have been found in an area from Sānkāsyā along the Ganges in the middle of the Doāb and into the eastern Panjāb, but only one was found at Taxila. Cunningham felt that they may have been minted at Sāgala.⁵⁵

A second common coin type was probably minted at Taxila; 158 examples were found scattered throughout Sirkap.⁵⁶ Symbolically, on the obverse is a lion; the reverse shows Herakles with club and lion skin. Both types were probably derived from, or were closely related to, the coinage of Azes II; in these coins Rājūvula is called a *Mahākshatrapa*. Finally, a series of coins found only in the Doāb are an adaptation of the local Mathurā Hindu issues typified by the Gaja-Lakshmī motif on the reverse.⁵⁷ This too bears the legend *Mahākshatrapa*; it may have been struck toward the end of his reign, for the type was continued by his son and successor Soḍāsa.

As one of the bases for the dating of Rājūvula, numismatists have noted that his most common coins (Coin 284) closely resemble the late issues of the Indo-Greek Kings Strato I and Strato II, who minted jointly in base silver and lead.⁵⁸ The two Stratos were among the last Greek kings to rule in the region east of the Jhelum, isolated by the Sakas from their confreres in the Kabul Valley and the Paropamisadae. Rājūvula must have supplanted them—immediately or after an unspecified interval—as paramount lord in the district of Sāgala.⁵⁹ He continued in his coinage the debasement of silver with lead, as Strato II had done before him and Azes II also continued to do—a result probably of the development of lead currency among the Andhras to the south.

Strato I and II may have been ruling jointly in the area about 75 B.C., and Rājūvula not long after them. Further, if the *Mahākshatrapa Patika* mentioned on the Mathurā Lion Capital is the same as the *Patika* of the Taxila copper plate, then Rājūvula may have been at least a generation later than Maues. This is probably the basis for Marshall's linking Rājūvula with Azes I, Maues' successor; but the appearance of motifs from the coinage of Azes II in Rājūvula's later issues suggests that these two men may have been contemporary.⁶⁰ This points to a period not long before the rise to power of Gondophares, whose coinage repeated the epithet *apratihata cakra* which Rājūvula had used. Rājūvula was lord of a substantial domain. The variety of his coins attests to a relatively long reign which may have extended into the last quarter of the first century B.C.

THE MAHĀKSHATRAPA ŚOḌĀSA

In Mathurā the son and successor of Rājūvula was Śoḍāsa. His reign seems to have been a period of flourishing artistic activity, and he is named as ruler in no less than five inscriptions from a variety of religious foundations (see Appendix III). His coins are, however, of an unambitious nature and narrow provenance, suggesting that his domain was limited to the Mathurā region and did not extend northward.

Using none of the Hellenic features of Saka coinage elsewhere, Śoḍāsa minted only one type of native, local issues. On the obverse is a female figure, probably Lakshmī, and on the reverse, the abhiśeka of Lakshmī.⁶¹ There are several variations in the coin legends which mark the growth of his power, beginning with the "Kshatrapa Śoḍāsa, son of the Mahākshatrapa," and ending with "Śoḍāsa, the Great Satrap." One of his issues calls him the "son of Rājūvula."⁶² The coins which were issued when he was a Mahākshatrapa are rare, thus suggesting that the period of his rule as paramount prince was short.

Śoḍāsa succeeded his father at Mathurā; in the northwest, the succession may have gone to a Prince Bhadrayasa. Soon thereafter, the rising kingdom of Gondophares and his allies claimed the region of Taxila and the eastern Panjāb. Śoḍāsa may have been a contemporary of Gondophares or somewhat older; hence he could have ruled in the last years of the first century B.C. or the early decades of the first century A.D.⁶³

ŚOḌĀSA'S SUCCESSORS AT MATHURĀ

At Mathurā the Saka coin sequence has not been traced beyond Śoḍāsa. The political situation between him and the advent of Vima or Kanishka is quite unclear.⁶⁴ One can only speculate that the rise of the dynasty of Gondophares in the first quarter of the first century A.D. destroyed the political system of the Śakas in the northwest; at Mathurā it must have gone into eclipse as a consequence. There is abundant testimony to the cultural and political links between the Śakas of Mathurā and those to the northwest, but no major traces of the Indo-Parthians have yet come to light in the middle Doāb.

The decline in the political fortunes of the Śakas does not seem to have adversely affected the production of the sculpture workshops of Mathurā. Important Buddhist and Jaina works were carved during this period;⁶⁵ but only a few of their inscriptions bear dynastic references. One indication, however, that the Śakas were not uprooted from the town is found on a Jaina carving from the Kanāli Tīlā with the title Mahākshatrapa Ma . . . on the pedestal.⁶⁶ Another fragmented pedestal gives the rank of a Kshatrapa, but unfortunately, the man's name has also been lost.⁶⁷ Stylistically, this work is later than Śoḍāsa,

yet it does not share the distinctive features of Buddhist images of the time of Kanishka.

These works may date from the revival of Indo-Scythian fortunes after the fall of the Indo-Parthians at Taxila about the middle of the first century A.D. Coins and inscriptions reveal the existence of a certain Zeionises (or Jihonika), who seems to have been the Satrap of Chukhsa and the successor to the Indo-Parthians of Taxila.⁶⁸ Several writers have suggested that Zeionises had been installed by either Kujula or Vima after the Kushan conquest of the Panjāb.⁶⁹ His coins (Coins 278 and 279) bear the nandipada monogram in common with those of Vima, but otherwise they belong to the Hellenized traditions of the Sakas. His reverse type showing the armed king being crowned by Tyche is an important document in the iconography of Indo-Scythian kingship.

The names of men with the title of Kshatrapa appear in many Kushan inscriptions, particularly the early ones.⁷⁰ It is not clear whether they were Sakas who had been absorbed into the Kushan Empire or whether the empire employed its own form of the Satrapal system. Perhaps either may be true. Even though it is difficult precisely to define the position of the earlier Indo-Scythians in the cosmopolitan life of the Kushanshahī, in all likelihood their role was an important one.

THE TALL KUSHAN CROWN

The high, jeweled, conical crown in Kushan imagery, although rare (Figures 11, 78), has striking similarities to the elaborate crowns worn by Indian divinities of the Guptan period and thereafter. In the formulations of *Mānasāra*, this particular conical form is called the *Kirita Mukuṭa* and is prescribed only for images of *Nārāyaṇa* among the gods and only for a *cakravartin* and an *adhirāja* (a superior king) among men.⁶⁰ In post-Guptan sculpture, however, its actual application was much wider, extending to *Sūrya*, *Kubera*, and *Bodhisattvas*.

There is not enough evidence, particularly from the fourth century, to warrant a claim that this Kushan high headdress is the prototype of the later Indian forms; nevertheless, it is a plausible candidate if only on the grounds of priority. Along with the cylindrical crown of *Indra*, it breaks for the first time the indigenous Indian tradition of a regal or divine headdress as a turban in which a flat plate, feathers, or other device was inserted—the tradition which prevailed at the important sites of early Buddhist sculpture.

It is entirely possible that the tall headdress developed *sui generis* among the Kushans. The nearest cognate is in the Near East: a crown worn by women—but only by women—at sites such as *Edessa* or *Hatra* (Figure 141). The veil thrown over the top of the women's crowns to hang down the back of the shoulders creates an illusion of something deceptively similar to the shoulder covers of the Kushan crown, but they are not the same, the veil being a common devotional head covering of ordinary women in the Semitic world.

Even though there is nothing exactly like the high ceremonial crowns of the Kushans in the arts of the Near East, their general shape and opulent, symbolic effect is not unlike that of the crowns worn by the Assyrian kings in the reliefs of *Kuyunjuk* and *Nimrud*. Moreover, the Parthian military helmet (Figure 135) and its Kushan counterparts (Figures 4, 14, 15) have close parallels in the dress of Assyrian and Achaemenian warriors. As is discussed at the end of this chapter, this is another example of an ancient Oriental trait recurring in the arts of the Kushans, along with the flaming shoulders of a king, the leonine emblems, the sense of monumental frontality in sculpture in the round.

SOLAR SYMBOLISM

Several scholars maintain that a handsome, second-century carving from the *Kaṅkāli Tīlā* at Mathurā is a Kushan portrait (Figure 43).⁶¹ The face has a certain sense of personal identity in the thick lips, broad nose, and mustache; the costume and long hair are attributes of the Indo-Scythians; and the unusual

squatting position occurs in the coins of Vima and Huvishka, both of whom hold small clubs.

I believe that this image is not that of a king but of the Sun God. The determining factors are its small scale, the pair of horses which flank the throne, the small votive altar carved in relief on the pedestal, and the resemblance to images which unquestionably represent the Sun God (Figure 44, for example).⁵² The identification of this statue is an important issue. Not only does it bear upon the number of royal portraits at Mathurā, it is also related to the origins of Hindu cult imagery. If this is indeed a statue of Sūrya, it is among the oldest votive statues of an exalted deity whose worship can be correlated with the Vedas. The cult of Sūrya in the Kushan period was, however, but one of several theistic movements which arose on the fringes of orthodox Brahmanism—like the cults of the Pañcarātras and Vāsudeva-Vishṇu or of Paśupati-Siva. These sects absorbed many local, folkloristic elements or, in the solar cult, were subject to strong foreign influences. In the passing of time, however, they were reconciled with Vedic traditions and evolved into the great sectarian creeds of modern Hinduism. One indication of the importance of foreign, especially Indo-Scythian, influence on the solar cult is the very fact that some early images of Sūrya are so similar to Kushan royal portraits that it is possible to confuse one with the other.

One of the chief links with Kushan portraiture, in addition to the costume, is the deep squatting position. It differs from the European pose in that the subject sits on a low stool or cushion, causing his knees to rise above the waist. This position, slightly ungainly, calls for the strictest frontality and gives the figure a symmetrical, hieratic cast. It appeared prominently in the coin portraits of Vima and then Huvishka (Coins 19, 79) and in the Gokarṇeśvara colossus (Figure 11). Significantly, neither of the solar deities on Kushan coins—ELIOS and MIRO—assumes this posture, and neither is dressed in Indo-Scythian garb.

The squatting Sūrya images were derived from Kushan royal portraits and not from Kushan coin images of the Sun God; moreover, the use of princely Indo-Scythian clothing for Sūrya images persisted in India throughout the Gupta period, becoming part of the canonical attributes of the deity. The fifth-century encyclopedia *Bṛihat Saṃhitā* of Varāha Mihira states: "The Sun God . . . should be dressed in Northern style [*udicyaveśa*] covering the body from breast to foot. He wears a crown and holds two lotuses by the stalks along his arms. His face is adorned with earrings; he has a long pearl necklace and girdle around his waist . . . his body is covered with armor. . . ." ⁵³ The *Vishṇudharmottara*, from the sixth or seventh century A.D., also stipulates that the image should be made with an auspicious mustache, should wear the dress of a foreigner, be covered with a coat of mail, and wear a waist girdle called *Yāviyāṅga*. In his right and left hands should be sunbeams as reins. *Danḍa* stands to his

left with a palm leaf and pen in hand, Piṅgala to his right with a shield and trident.⁵⁴

This is one of the clearest examples of the origin of a distinct iconographic type in Indian art. The chief problem here is to account for its derivation from Kushan royal portraits, to determine if there was in Kushan royal mythology or ritual enough special connection between these kings and a solar deity to account for it. Unfortunately, detailed circumstantial evidence about the Kushan monarchs is almost completely lacking; only an inferential method can be used here.

PRE-KUSHAN SOLAR DEITIES IN INDIAN ART

Solar imagery in other guises long antedated the Kushans in this region. As early as about 155 B.C. an obscure Greco-Bactrian Prince Plato issued tetradrachms with the image of a solar deity standing frontally in a quadriga.⁵⁵ A large number of these Plato tetradrachms were found in the Kundūz hoard, but the type is otherwise unique in Indo-Greek numismatics.⁵⁶ It did recur in simpler form on a tetradrachm of Maues, on which the deity (seen *en face*) rides in a biga (seen in profile)⁵⁷—a formal representation not unlike that on the magnificent relief carving of a solar deity at Bhāja.

Bhāja is the site of a Buddhist cave sanctuary in the Western Ghāts between Bombay and Poona. The Sūrya figure, carved about 50 B.C. in the veranda of one of the small dwelling caves (*vihāra*), is shown riding over a demonic figure, presumably the genius of darkness and an allusion to the solar eclipse by the Vedic demon Svarbhānu.⁵⁸ The god is flanked by two women holding the attributes of his royalty—a fly whisk and umbrella—and further flanked by two horsemen, outriders who accompany his procession. Like the coin type of Maues, this work stands on the threshold of the frontality which hereafter permeated the Indian solar images. The god and his attendants are shown *en face*, the round front of the chariot being twisted forward to make this possible, and the horses and chariot wheel remain in profile.

The frontal form of Sūrya and his chariot appears at Bodh Gayā and Khaṇḍagiri.⁵⁹ There, as at Bhāja, the Sūrya figures were not objects of worship, but were carved as testaments to the supremacy of other deities, Buddhist or Jaina, or as analogies to their power. This subsidiary, secondary nature of the icon's appearance continued in the art of Gandhāra, as in an interesting pseudo-Corinthian capital from Abarchinar in the lower Swāt Valley (Figure 88). Here the image has been projected heraldically in the familiar aspect of most of its components: the horses and two wheels in profile, the deity *en face*, the chariot flattened so that the front and both sides are shown simultaneously.⁶⁰ Into the very heartland of the Kushans themselves, the motif retained its subsidiary nature. In the royal shrine at Surkh Kotal, ornamenting one of the many

architectural "merlons," the solar deity appears dressed in Kushan garb (Figure 124). Unbearded, it is close in style to one of the coin portraits of Vima Kadphises (Coin 19), particularly in the treatment of the pendant left hand and the large feet.

The Surkh Kotal and Kankālī Tīlā figures indicate the period in the second century A.D. when the older iconic tradition of the solar deity became affected by the Kushan artistic style and personal dress, but the process of frontalization had begun before that time. Once the tradition became modified, the developed Kushan type of Sūrya image was produced for several centuries, the most elaborate example being the white marble group from Khair Khaneh, on the outskirts of Kabul (Figure 96). Usually dated in the early fifth century, its figures are dressed in a highly ornate version of the Central Asian-Iranian princely costume. The composition is rigidly frontal and hieratic: Sūrya is much larger than his flanking attendants Daṇḍa and Piṅgala or the charioteer Aruṇa. The work is so symbolic in nature that the chariot is no longer recognizable as such. With or without the attendants, this type of Sūrya image predominated in the art of the Kushanshahr; only rarely were other types produced, such as a small, free-standing Gandhāran group (Figure 89), in which Sūrya is dressed as an ornate Bodhisattva and seated cross-legged.

OTHER EVIDENCE OF THE SOLAR CULT

There is little substantial evidence of a highly developed, independent solar cult among the Kushans.⁶¹ The solar deities ELIOS and especially MIRO are abundant in the coinage of Kanishka and Huvishka, but statistically they are no more popular than NANA, ARDHOXSHO, or OESHO. Further, their coin imagery has little in common with the Gandhāran and Mathurā statues of Sūrya, for the two idioms belong to separate iconic traditions. Two of the personal names in the Surkh Kotal inscription seem to be devotional ones related to the Sun God—Mihrāmān and Burzmihrpurh—but, as Maricq points out, these names are not typically Kushan.⁶² An interesting Kushan-period head from Mathurā shows a woman wearing a solar emblem on a disk over her *coque de chevelure* (Figure 18), hanging from a headband consisting of large linked flowers and the remains of a recumbent bull. This is an expression of personal affiliation, however, and is not related to the Kushan dynasty as such. Most Kushan-period Sūrya figures are modest in scale, and may well have been household idols.

What was probably the largest and most sacred image of the Sun God in the area has been lost—the fabled statue in the "House of Gold" at Multan (the ancient Mūlasthānapura) on the Chenāb River, the chief town in the lower Panjāb—upper Sindh region. Ancient accounts describe this figure in such a way as to suggest that it may have resembled the large Gokarṇeśvara

portrait at Mathurā (Figure 11): "The idol is human in shape and is seated with its legs bent in a quadrangular posture on a throne made of brick and mortar. Its whole body is covered with . . . morocco leather, nothing but its eyes visible . . . they being made of precious gems, and its head covered with a crown of gold."⁶³ Hsüan-tsang also described it, indicating that it was cast in yellow gold, that it had marvelous powers, that lights were kept burning all night before it, that kings and high families of the five Indies came to make offerings.⁶⁴ This idol may have been part of the iconographic tradition of the Kushan Sūrya figures in Indo-Scythian dress, but it is impossible with the available evidence to associate it directly with the Kushans, as R. B. Whitehead has shown.⁶⁵

The legendary history of the Multan image is given in two texts which are the most explicit in their accounts of the cult of the Sun God in India—the *Sāmba* and *Bhaviṣṭya Purāṇas*. Of the two, the *Sāmba* is the older, its earlier sections having been compiled between A.D. 500 and 800, the later ones about A.D. 1500.⁶⁶ Both these literary sources describe the introduction of the formal cult of the sun into northwest India by the half-mythical King Sāmba, a son of Kṛṣṇa. Before that time, the sun had been worshiped only in the form of the solar disk in the sky; but King Sāmba, having been cured of leprosy by his devotions to Sūrya, built a temple in honor of the deity.

This took place at the *Mitravāṇa* (the Grove of Mītra) on the north bank of the *Candragarbha* River (the modern *Chenāb*), and an image of the god came miraculously floating by in the water. Sāmba installed it in the temple; but even though this statue had been made by *Viśvakarma*, the Artificer of the Gods, no proper Brahman would perform services before it. Thus Sāmba, on the advice of the chaplain of King *Ugrasena* of Mathurā, went to seek *Māgas* to perform the rituals. Riding on the back of *Garuḍa*, lent to him by Kṛṣṇa, he flew to *Śakadvīpa* (probably *Seistān*) and returned to the *Mitravāṇa* with eighteen families of *Māgas*. These families are described as having been born from the sun's *tejas* (fiery luminosity), marrying only with a certain caste of *Bhōjakas* from *Dvārakā*, covering altars with the *Varśamā* (that is, the Magian *Baresma*, the sacred fasces) instead of *Darbha* grass, and refusing to touch a dead body. There is no doubt that they were of the persuasion of the Iranian *Māgas* or *Magi*, who under different circumstances had carried the solar cult into *Anatolia* and the *Levant*, a movement which underlay the rise of Western *Mithraism*.

Epigraphic evidence confirms the *Purāṇas*. A stone record from the *Gaya* district dated *Saka* 1058 (A.D. 1137) begins: "Hail to . . . the divine *Aruṇa*, whose presence sanctifies the milk-ocean-encircled *Sakadvīpa*, where Brahmins are *Māgas*. There a race of twice-born sprang from the Sun's own body . . . whom Sāmba himself brought hither."⁶⁷ Near *Jodhpur* was found an inscription of *Vikrama* 918 (A.D. 861) written by a *Māga* called *Maitriravi*. In this

same district, the Sevak Brahmins still refer to themselves as Śakadvīpa Brahmins.⁶⁸

In the developing Hindu theism of the Kushan and Gupta periods, Sūrya was made both the agent and goal of salvation.⁶⁹ Like other potent members of the Hindu pantheon, he was the creator, protector, and destroyer of the universe. Of all such deities, however, he was the only one who was actually visible and a source of energy. His domain was a heavenly abode where the souls of his devotees attained their final release, having been conducted there by the Sun God himself—a concept similar to that of the Buddhist Pure Lands. Sūrya became the symbol of the ultimate principle in the Indian scale of values, other deities functioning as manifestations of his power. His first son was Brahma; his second, Viṣṇu, was keeper of his treasure; his third, Śiva, was his protector. Eighteen other companions or attendants of Sūrya are listed in the *Sāmba Purāṇa*, some of whom received independent worship and appeared here and there in the cult imagery:

Nikṣubhā (Rikṣubhā), the chief wife, is genius of the earth (identified with Pṛithvī), mother of the Māgas. She sits at Sūrya's right in his chariot. Rājñī, second wife, is genius of heaven. She sits at Sūrya's left. Both these two wives, although bearing Indian names, seem to be related to Avestan deities, the first to the chief wife of Ahura Mazdah (Armaiti), the second to Aši, the Kushan Ardoxsho.⁷⁰

Daṇḍanāyaka is engaged by Sūrya to rule over the world with his daṇḍa (and niti, as the science of politics [*Sāmba Purāṇa* 16.1-24]). In this function, he is equated with Indra or with Skanda.⁷¹ He is often referred to simply as Daṇḍa.

Piṅgala, the personification of the sin-dispelling fire of Sūrya, is equated with Agni.⁷² The record keeper of the deeds of all creatures, he stands to the left of the Sun God. Such moralizing concepts—a record of good and evil, and the fire which dispels sin—are heavily influenced by Zoroastrianism. Daṇḍa and Piṅgala appear frequently in solar imagery—for example, the Khair Khaneh group (Figure 95) or a similar carving found at Mathurā (Figure 45) but made in the northwest, probably in Kashmir.

Rājñā and Srauśa, two guardians of the Sun God's heaven, allow only the blessed to enter. Both names are almost identical to those in the Avesta.⁷³ The *Sāmba Purāṇa* equated them with Kārttikeya and Hara.

By the flexible principles of Hindu theology, the Sun God was capable of an infinite number of epiphanies and, according to the *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa*, he had been incarnate even in the Buddha.⁷⁴ This type of identification of deities is common in Indian religious history; correspondingly, Buddhists often use the sun as an analogy of the Buddha's Illumination—the penetration of the sun of enlightenment into the darkness of delusion.⁷⁵ In sculpture, perhaps the

best example is found in an elaborate lintel panel with scenes from Buddha's life from the Huvishka Vihāra at Mathurā, datable from the first quarter of the third century A.D. (Figure 40). Here a frontal solar quadriga and deity occupy the extreme left section of the panel (Figure 40a). Its symbolic role must be similar to that of the celestial quadriga painted over the head of the giant Buddha at Bamiyan. Another example is found in a passage in the *Aśvaghosha Buddhacarita*, in which Brahman forest dwellers greet the Buddha as he begins his career as an ascetic. They remember that his family belonged, as Ikśvaku, to the solar race of kings, and they liken his coming to the rising sun and call him a Sūryaputra or Candraputra.⁷⁶ A fifth-century Sārnāth pedestal inscription (the image is lost) declares the Buddha to be the *Ādityabandhu*, the sun's kinsman, of matchless splendor.⁷⁷

The cult of the Sun God (the *paramādityabhaktaḥ*) is no longer a dominant factor in Indian religion, but from the period of the Indo-Scythian invasions into the reign of the Guptas and the early Middle Ages the sect spread across the subcontinent, culminating in Orissa in its greatest strictly Indian monument: the Sun Temple at Konarak. Both the *Bhaviṣya* and *Sāmba Purāṇas* indicate that there were three major centers of sun worship in India: Muṇḍirā (probably Konarak), Kālapriyā (Mathurā), and Multan (the most sacred and permanent residence of the sun).

After the Kushan period the cult flourished among the Hūṇas, especially under King Mihirakula.⁷⁸ The Emperor Harsha Vardhana of Kanauj and his family were devout sun worshipers, as attested by a clay seal found at Sonapat, Delhi District,⁷⁹ and by the *Harshacarita* of Bāṇa. The latter tells, for example, of the daily devotions of Harsha's father.⁸⁰ At dawn he would array himself in white silk and kneel eastward on the ground in a circle marked with saffron paste and present an offering of red lotuses, uttering a hymn devoted to the sun (which accords closely with the ritual prescriptions in the *Sāmba Purāṇa*, Chapter 29). Harsha himself is presented as having been miraculously engendered from the sun; his mother had dreamed that two shining youths—Harsha and his brother—had issued from the heavenly disk and had entered her womb.⁸¹ The same writer used the sun in a dramatic, semi-analogical manner in describing the death of Harsha's father: "The sun was reft of its brilliance which was his [the father's] life and assumed a coppery hue, descending through the heavens as though to pay a visit of condolence, his heat grew cold, the day grew black—a night of terror drew over the land."⁸²

WESTERN PARALLELS OF INDIAN HELIOLATRY

Philostratus records that an Indian monarch boasted to Apollonius that he had perfect virtue because he was "one with the sun."⁸³ Traditional Indian texts repeatedly use the solar analogy to exalt a ruler: "The king shone in

splendor as the sun, radiant in the middle of its journey."⁸⁴ "The king was as difficult to look in the face as the radiant sun." "He surpasses all created beings in luster."⁸⁵

Generally speaking, this burgeoning of the solar cult in India and the special association of a king with the sun was an Eastern manifestation of an intellectual movement which had spread throughout Western Asia, Iran, and the Roman European Empire, beginning in the second century B.C.⁸⁶ Among the Romans, the movement was guised largely as Mithraism. There the cult of the Iranian deity had been greatly influenced by Chaldean-Semitic astronomy and the Greek mystery religions, much altered from its native form—and much different from the form in which it reached India, where the bull sacrifice would have been unthinkable, to say the least.

The revitalized and synthetic semi-Iranian faith spread with great rapidity among the Roman legions and mercantile classes, its militancy appealing to the emperors, whose own status was enhanced by their special relationships with the Sun God. In the late second, third, and early fourth centuries, the cult reached an apogee of importance. Nero, devoted to Apollo as both god of music and of the sun, had his own likeness placed on a representation of the Sun God driving a chariot surrounded by stars—this on the curtain of an entertainment given for the Parthian Tiridates. Commodus was initiated into the cult of the Sun God; Aurelianus established a temple of *sol invictus* in Rome itself and its cult among his troops; Diocletian declared that Mithra was the *fautor imperii*, patron of the empire; both Constantine and Julian the Apostate were declared to have been emanations of Mithra, their souls having participated in his divine and igneous entity.⁸⁷

In the Middle East, the development of a solar deism is evidenced by a fresco in the temple of Zeus Theos at Dura of the second century A.D.⁸⁸ There the god is shown nimbate standing to the side of a profile quadriga, the supreme celestial deity whose nature comprehended the existence of local and national pantheons. In Parthian Iran, the adoption of the cult name Mithradates among the Arsacid kings indicates an orientation toward his worship⁸⁹ and a heightening of his status, until in the Sasanian period Mithra began to share with Ahura Mazda and Anāhitā the symbolic investiture of Persian kings.

It is not beyond the realm of possibility that some Kushan emperors, like some of the later Roman ones, channeled their devotions primarily to the Sun God or were even considered manifestations of him. No concrete evidence of this has yet come to light, however, and the adoption of Indo-Scythian clothing and royal postures for idols of the Sun God can be accounted for without this possibility. The revival of solar worship in India had begun before the arrival of the Kushans. Although the cult may have been affected by them, it was not totally dependent on them; it was, in effect, a readjustment of older concepts in response to an international religious movement. Preserved in the Vedas and Brahmanas are numerous sacred hymns and rituals in praise of the

sun, an essential part of the common Indo-Iranian heritage. The newer stimulus of sun worship under Iranian influence, even though it involved a new liturgy and a revolutionary use of imagery, appealed to this store of ancient orthodoxy and was eventually accepted into the Hindu scheme of life. Since the making of the cult images of Sūrya was an innovation, the adoption of Indo-Scythian clothing and the Kushan squatting pose could have resulted from the identification of the cult with the Iranian sources of its revival and Indo-Scythians in general. In India, a prince was the likeness of a god;⁸⁰ thus, for the new icons of Sūrya, what could have been a more fitting prototype than the images of the greatest of the living monarchs?



Fig. 25. Bust of Vima Kadphises. Coin 23.

HALOS AND FLAMING SHOULDERS

The back of Kanishka's portrait at Mathurā is engraved with a distinct, unbroken line which suggests that a circular halo might have been placed around his head. On their coins all Kushan and Kushano-Sasanian kings from Vima onward were represented as possessing supernatural effulgence, either as a halo or flaming shoulders or both. The appearance of these signs in Kushan royal imagery is summarized in the following chart. (Note that only two of the portrait statues are well enough preserved to show these marks.)

	Halo	Flaming Shoulders
Vima coins		X
Kanishka coins		X
Kanishka portrait, Mathurā	?	
Kanishka reliquary, Peshāwar	X	
Surkh-Kotal seated prince		X
Gokarṇeśvara colossus	X	
Huvishka coins	X	X (omitted in certain types)
Vāsudeva I coins	X	X (omitted in Type I)
Kanishka III coins	X	X (omitted in Type I)
Vāsudeva II	X	X

These outward marks of superhuman status were exceptional in their day. No other contemporary Parthian, Sasanian, or Roman ruler made such extravagant symbolic allusion to his divinity.⁹¹

KHVARENO

A number of scholars have been convinced that the flaming shoulders are a manifestation of the *kavaem khvareno*, an Iranian concept of Royal Good Fortune.⁹² The *khvareno* is a supernatural boon which may take the form of fire, a part of the all-illuminating heavenly light which is common to all divinities and which lights a great prince.⁹³ The light is the talisman of his lawful reign, a guarantee of his ultimate victory, and in one form a special property of the Aryan race, which was created by Ahura Mazda to overcome non-Aryan lands.

This explanation is somewhat oversimplified. The concept of the *khvareno* is an ancient one in Iran, but the motif of flaming shoulders is extremely rare in pre-Islamic Iranian royal imagery, even though it appears as a trait of great deities in early Mesopotamian art—in such monuments as the Hammurabi stele in the Louvre and in Akkadian seals.⁹⁴ In Iran, it does not occur to my knowledge before the coins of Khosroes II (reigned 590–628), a reverse bust image of a male with flaming shoulders—one of the greatest rarities among the Sasanian coin types. The motif does, however, appear frequently in Persian Islamic painting of the later middle ages, and one reason for its absence in earlier arts is probably the fact that the *khvareno* could be represented by symbols other than flaming shoulders.

In its earliest and most common literary usage, the *khvareno* meant simply the gift of wealth, triumph, and ease to a king. The concept gradually developed into that of a divine and autonomous force which could in itself bestow these boons on those worthy of them. In his study of the theme, H. W. Bailey has pointed out that the fiery aspects of the *khvareno* have been overemphasized and distorted by Iranologists, and that its basic meaning remains that of the gift of material good fortune.⁹⁵

The *kavaem khvareno* which accompanied an Iranian king was *prima-facie* evidence of his majesty and, like the seven treasures of the Indian *cakravartin*, was self-moving, attaching itself to worthy rulers. In the *Avesta* (*Yašt* XIX), it took the guise of three ravens when it left Yama, the first and most brilliant of kings who lost the glory when he uttered a falsehood. For Ardashir, the first Sasanian emperor, it was said to have taken the form of a ram.⁹⁶ In cosmopolitan Western Asia and Mesopotamia, the concept also became fused with that of the Hellenic *Tyche*, patroness of a state or king and guarantor of good fortune.⁹⁷ The *Tyche* figures on the reverse of Arsacid coins, shown bestowing the attributes of power on the king, can be interpreted in Iranian terms as per-

sonifications of the khvareno as well (Coins 279, 297).⁹⁸ Among Semitic peoples, the concept of the khvareno coalesced with that of the Gaddé, patron deity of a town or state.⁹⁹

In Zoroastrian Sanskrit literature in India, the term khvareno was translated, strangely enough, by both the terms Lakshmī and Śrī in the sense of the personifications of the abundance of a regime.¹⁰⁰ These are names of the ancient Indian folk deity of prosperity, success, beauty, radiance, and glory, whose images can be seen in early Buddhist sculpture and in Śaka coins (Coin 274). The notion of a goddess who oversees the rule of kings is expressed in the *Āsvaghosha Buddhacarita* (X.9), which describes the goddess of Rājagriha as perturbed on seeing Śākyamuni, "who was worthy of ruling the earth and was yet in a bhikṣu's robe."¹⁰¹ According to the Junāgaḍh inscription of A.D. 367, Royal Good Fortune (as the goddess Śrī) had selected Skandagupta as her husband, having discarded all other sons of kings, presumably as being unworthy of her.¹⁰² The *Harshacarita* states that when Harsha's father died, his mother declared that the goddess of Royal Glory—the requisite of sovereignty—was inconsolate, ever craving the sight of another lord. Similarly, Harsha is described as having been reluctant to assume power on the death of his brother. He was embraced by the goddess and then forced to mount the throne, "embraced by her who had spoiled the four oceans of their beauty"¹⁰³—an unmistakable equation with Śrī, the consort of Viṣṇu who had been produced by the churning of the ocean.¹⁰⁴ Exactly the same name and the same implications of her presence attend the female consort of the Cakravartin: the Strīratna, the ideal queen of the righteous Buddhist ruler (Figure 159). In the *Raghuvamśa*, King Atithi, grandson of Rāma, is described as the bridegroom of rājyaśrī;¹⁰⁵ King Dilipa considered himself wed only to his royal queen and to the Goddess of Fortune, even though his harem was full.¹⁰⁶

There were many ramifications to the concept of the kavaem khvareno and many guises which it assumed. In Indian symbolism, it had clear expression in the guise of a female,¹⁰⁷ but the male deity PHARRO, which appears on the coins of Kanishka and Huvishka, must also personify the ideal.¹⁰⁸ Appropriately, this deity is often shown holding fire in his outstretched hand and having flaming shoulders himself (see Chapter III). In some coin types he proffers a bag of money or a scepter—entirely in keeping with the concept of the khvareno as the boon of prosperity and sovereignty. The vessel of flames is probably the royal fire which was the mark of an independent king, to burn unceasingly throughout his reign.¹⁰⁹ Etymologically, the word Pharro must have been the Kushan equivalent for khvareno. It has not yet appeared elsewhere in Kushan nomenclature, but it does occur in the royal name Gondophares, derived from the Old Persian Windafarnā(h), implying "to obtain glory."¹¹⁰

FLAMES AND THE BUDDHA PRINCIPLE

Flaming shoulders are also associated with the Buddha Śākyamuni. In the dual miracle of Śrāvastī, the Buddha gives forth flame and water from his body to demonstrate his superiority over the Kaśyapas,¹¹¹ as for the same reason he had exuded flames to subdue the Nāga of Uruvilvā. This was much the same kind of feat which Kanishka performed to subdue the Nāga near Kāpiśa; he too possessed supernatural power to use against a mighty adversary.

Carrying the concept much further, the Buddhist texts tend to equate the divinity of Buddha's insight—his very enlightened nature—with a lustrous, luminous element. The *Dhammapada* indicates that the Buddha was permeated with a fiery energy—the sun is bright by day, and the moon shines by night; but the awakened Buddha is bright with splendor by day and by night.¹¹² He will shine forth—sun of knowledge—to destroy the darkness of illusion in the world. In the visual arts, as early as the carving of the west torāṇa of Sāñchi Stūpa I (about the beginning of the first century A.D.), a miraculous flame was associated with the meditating Buddha. Sculptors at Nāgārjunikoṇḍa about A.D. 250 indicated the first sermon at Benares as the empty throne of the Buddha, the wheel of the Dharma, and tongues of flame behind the pillar of the wheel (Figure 163). At Amarāvati, the Buddha's presence was depicted as a flaming pillar, a motif which reflects the notion that when the Buddha sat first upon the Bodhimanda he assumed the seat where Agni, the sacrificial fire, had previously risen as partial replenishment of the sun's tejas.¹¹³

Iconographically, the particular association of the Buddha with flaming shoulders seems to have been a specialty of the monastic workshop at Shotorak and Paitava near Kāpiśa. At Shotorak, flaming shoulders illustrate the miracle of Śrāvastī (Figure 106); they also appear in scenes of the Dīpaṃkara Jātaka and of the Buddha meditating in the dhyānimudrā¹¹⁴—motifs which are elsewhere usually shown without this detail. The fact that these were carved at monastery temples which served the Kushan nobility at Kāpiśa would seem to indicate that the flaming shoulders of the Buddha and those of the Kushan kings were closely related in basic significance.

The Indian subjects of the Kushans may well have interpreted the royal flaming shoulders a sign of the presence of the tejas—the majesty of a great monarch, the fiery energy and vital power which he possesses in abundance. The flames must also have reflected royal myths of superhuman prowess; but in Gupta and later Indian royal imagery, the motif was abandoned even though flaming halos remained an essential part of Buddhist icons. In Iranian terms, the flames were unmistakably related to the concept of khvareno, and its first clear expression as fire in the visual arts may have been made by the Kushans. But if the flames were a talisman of Royal Glory, the Kushan deity PHARRO was its personification. So also was the Indian goddess Śrī, and her

image as the ideal beauty and perfect consort expressed this theme in India in the centuries after the fall of the Kushans.

A SUMMIT OF ROCKS OR CLOUDS

Some of the coin portraits of Vima, Kanishka, and Huvishka show the kings seated upon or emerging from irregular shapes which suggest either clouds or rocks. The type of Vima seated cross-legged upon these forms (Coin 20) was repeated by Huvishka, with considerable loss of expressive power (Coin 135). Alexander Soper suggested that the milieu might be the summit of the Avestan mythical Mount Hara Berezaiti, where Mithra has his dwelling, built for him by the Ameša Spentas: "The bright mountain around which the stars revolve, where come neither night nor darkness, nor cold wind and no hot wind, no deathful sickness, no uncleanness . . . and the clouds cannot reach up into the Hara Berezaiti."¹¹⁵ This theory is based on a somewhat speculative assumption that the Kushan kings had a royal myth which appropriated details of the legends of Mithra.

There is no question, however, that the artistic convention was intended to suggest a divine ambient, and as such was widely used throughout Iran and West Asia. An extremely close cognate to the Kushan bust portraits can be seen in the Hatra relief of the solar deity called Maran (Our Lord) now in the Mosul Museum, dating from about A.D. 200 (Figure 144).¹¹⁶ The convention of a rocky summit was widely used as divine settings in the murals of Dura-Europos, as in the representation of the chief cult image in the Temple of the Palmyrene Gods painted about A.D. 70, and in the painting of the Tyche of Dura and Palmyra from the same temple, now in the Yale Museum, dating from the third century A.D.¹¹⁷ Similar conventions can be found beneath the feet of each of the princely figures in the Hall of Warriors at Toprak Kala, the resemblance to the forms in Vima's coins being greater than the drawing suggests (Text Figure 20). This dates from probably no earlier than the late third century A.D.

The motif in Kushan coins is ambiguous: Vima's Type IV (Coin 20) distinctly shows the ruler sitting on a rocky summit, as does Huvishka's Type II (Coins 44, 45). The bust portraits of both kings (e.g., Coins 21, 47) and Kanishka's Type IIb (Coin 35) retain the rocklike conventions with the ruler's bust rising above these forms. Reasoning that the most complete images are the most symptomatic, I assume that the motif was intended to suggest mountains and was retained in the bust portraits merely as a kind of ideograph.

Whatever its precise meaning may have been, the motif of the king atop a mountain must have been part of the propaganda of royal deification.¹¹⁸ The Kushan shrine at Surkh Kotal, with its prominent display of royal portraits,

was erected on a hilltop overlooking the valley in a manner reminiscent of the Hierotherion atop Nimrud Dagh. In Iran, Mazdean fire temples were often built on hilltops, in the closest proximity to heaven. In India during the Kushan period, Kubera was depicted atop Mount Kailāsa with artistic conventions which are similar to those on Kushan coins (Figure 47).

THE DEIFICATION OF KUSHAN KINGS

The evidence for the assumption of a superhuman status by Kushan kings is conclusive—the flaming shoulders, the mingling of their portraits with those of gods in dynastic shrines, the divine epithets in their inscriptions, and the apocryphal legends of supernatural prowess. There is, however, no direct evidence as to the degree of deification or the kinds of rituals involved.

To explain the origins of Kushan ideas of kingship, Sylvain Lévi suggested that the Kushan title *devaputra* came from China, from the regal concept of the T'ien-chou (Son of Heaven) of the Chinese kings.¹¹⁹ This theory would be more convincing if it could be proved that Kushan regal institutions otherwise reflected Chinese practices. All major evidence points, however, toward Iran and Western Asia—toward the linguistic filiates of the Kushans—and not to China. Ideas most similar to those of the Kushans must have flourished among the Parthians, in the Hellenistic kingdoms of the Seleucids and Ptolemies, and among the Romans.

A comparison of royal apotheoses throughout this area reveals some uniform aspects of the cult of kings in late Hellenistic and Roman imperial times. A selection from this vast array of material can serve, perhaps, as a general guide for the Kushans, bearing in mind, however, that all evidence indicates that the Kushan cult of kings was as highly developed as that of any other ruling family of the time.

THE KING AS A DIVINE EPIPHANY

The Kushan kings were called *devaputra* (Son of God) in the Mathurā inscriptions, *bagopouro* (Son of God) and *bagoshao* (God King) at Surkh Kotal. At no time before the advent of the Kushans were kings called *devaputra* in Indian literature or inscriptions. Moreover, only the kings of the Kushans and of Khotan were ever given this title extensively in Sanskrit.

In a different context, however, the word *devaputra* was current in India before the Kushans arrived. At Bhārhut, the inscription above the scene of the annunciation of Buddha's conception to the assembled gods gives the name of the angel of the annunciation as the *Dēvaputo Arahaguto*.¹²⁰ In the Pāli Canon, *Māra* (the Buddhist Satan) is commonly called *devaputra*, as also are his sons; the term seems to have meant male god or demigod. The Kushans must

have appropriated it as the Sanskrit equivalent of their own bagopouro, but originally the degree of sanctity or exaltation it expressed could not have been high.¹²¹

The growth of the principle of royal divinity was most rapid in the Hellenistic succession states in Egypt and the Near East.¹²² Alexander the Great had of course been strongly affected by the concept of divine parentage for himself, and realized its benefits among the polyglot population of his empire. It was not until after his death, however, that the principle began to acquire its great strength. Ptolemy II, who ruled from 309-246 B.C., was the first of the Diadochi to be called a god in his own lifetime.¹²³ Even Antiochus I (Seleucid), who bore bombastic epithets in the Iranian manner—"The Great King, the Mighty King, King of the Universe, King of Babylon, King of Lands . . ."—was not called a god.¹²⁴ His son Antiochus II, however, assumed the title Theos. The Rosetta Stone (196 B.C.) called Ptolemy V the Sun God manifest on earth as Theos Epiphanes.¹²⁵ This title was later assumed by Antiochus IV (176-164 B.C.). Such titles could be bestowed by the populace upon Seleucid kings. In different towns, kings were often given other titles; for example, Antiochus IV was merely Basileus on money minted in Tyre, Basileus Theos in Babylon, Basileus Antiochus Theos Epiphanes Nikephoros in Antioch after 166 B.C.¹²⁶

Among the Seleucids there seem to have been two principal kinds of royal cult: a local one varying in rites according to local customs and wishes, and an official one ordained by the sovereign directly and enforced by the satraps. Antiochus I placed the remains of his father in a temple surrounded by an enclosure wall, and called the shrine the Nikatoreion; Antiochus III established a cult of his own wife and one of the living and dead kings of the line in each satrapy of the empire.¹²⁷

Reflections of such practices seem to have reached the outer fringes of organized Hellenistic civilization. Antimachus, a little-known but important prince whose power must have been centered in eastern Bactria, was called Antimachus Theos on his coins; about 190 B.C. his realm stretched into India as far as Taxila.¹²⁸ At this same time the divine epithets Bagan and Alahia were appended to the Fratacara of the Persid kings at Istakhr.¹²⁹

Among the Kushans, the Greek title Soter (Savior) appeared in the coinage of Vima (Type VII, Coin 29). It was also borne by the coins of that unidentified ruler called simply Soter Megas (the Great Savior), who must have ruled about the time of the Kushan conquest of India. In pre-Hellenistic times this term had long been reserved for deities or divine heroes, but Antiochus I (Seleucid) assumed it upon the defeat of the Gauls in 278 B.C. Succeeding kings of the Seleucid line continued its use into the second century B.C.¹³⁰ The title persisted among the Bactrian Greeks, originally lieges of the Seleucids. Gondophares placed the title both in Greek and in Prakrit translation (tratarā) on his coins. Rājūvula also adopted it, and presumably in this manner the

term entered the nomenclature of the Kushans.

After Vima, however, it passed out of currency; the title devaputra or bagopouro became the most characteristic divine epithet of the Kushans. Fortunately, a detailed exegesis of the Sanskrit form is given in a Mahāyāna text written in northwest India in the Kushan period. In this *Suvarṇaprabhāsa Sūtra*, the four lokapālas (world guardians) ask the god Brahma: ¹³¹

How is it that, being born among men, a king obtains the name of a god? How is it that a king among men gets the name devaputra? How is it that he resides in a royal palace among men?

To which Brahma replied. As the Guardians of the World have asked me, thus for the profit of all beings I shall give this excellent doctrine. I shall tell for what cause, being born in the human realm, he is also born among kings and exercises royalty over territories.

It is through the force of his good anterior actions that he enters into a maternal womb [in another version, it is through the grace of the sovereigns of the gods]; if he is born in the human world, it is to be the sovereign of men. All the gods gather to protect and enhance him. Since he is born of the gods, he is designated noble son of the gods.

The thirty-three sovereigns of the gods each give him a royal portion, metamorphose him, and make him sovereign among men; in order to bar the route to evil actions, destroy that which is contrary to the Law, suppress impiety, smile upon those who do good in order to turn them toward the divine abode.

This definition of the divine origin of the power of a king is reflected in the *Laws of Manu*, codified in the post-Kushan period, in the third or fourth century A.D. from traditions of varying antiquity: ¹³²

The Lord created a king for the protection of this whole [creation], taking [for that purpose] eternal particles of Indra, of the Wind, of Yama, of the Sun, of Fire, of Varuṇa [Water], of the Moon, and of Kubera. Because a king has been formed of the particles of those lords of the gods, he therefore surpasses all created beings in luster. And like the sun, he burns eyes and hearts; nor can anybody on earth gaze upon him. Through his supernatural power, he is Agni [fire—the power of purity and destruction] and Vāyu [wind—freedom of movement and extension], he the Sun [Sūrya—majesty, wealth, and energy] and Moon [Candra—vegetation and fruitfulness], he the Lord of Justice [Yama], he Kubera [material wealth], he Varuṇa [source of dharma as the order of the state], he the great Indra [lordship, regulator of dharma].

Historically, this interpretation of the Indian king's divinity differs from his status in the older orthodox Vedic tradition as preserved in the two main Brahmanic royal rituals: the Aśvamedha (the horse sacrifice, which demonstrates his political supremacy) and the Rājasūya (his consecration or coronation). In these, kingship was explicitly a human institution; there was no trace

of the king's descent from the gods, even though his authority might be based on divine favor and on proper sacrifices.¹³³ The ideal of empire, of a vast political organism, was also foreign to the orthodox Vedic outlook, just as it was to that of the early Greek city-states. The organization of India's first true empire, that of the Mauryas, and the parallel expression in Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* of the ideal of the cakravartin were direct reflections of Achaemenian and Assyro-Babylonian concepts. They were a reaction to the successful invasions of her soil by the Persians in the sixth and fifth centuries B.C. and by the Macedonians in the fourth, which proved the weakness of her older political outlook when tested by the power of the imperial super-states.

The Kushan concept of kingship, as nearly as it can be deduced, represented yet another step in the growth of the centralized, imperial state. At the hub of the system was the divine monarch, the vital point which connected the realm of the gods with that of men. It is doubtful that the Kushanshahr was a feudal state in the strict sense of the word—that the king "owned" the entire realm and its wealth and parceled it among his lords. The empire seems to have been too vast for this degree of control, but the mechanics of its government are largely unknown. The Kushans do seem to have been greatly concerned with the question of legitimacy, both in the origins of their rule and in rightful succession. In spite of their militancy, they must have justified their power in terms of divine influence rather than brute force—which may explain why scenes of combat are missing from their dynastic arts.

Perhaps their principles were similar to those of Antiochus of Kommagene, who declared that although his own voice had decreed a law it was the thought of the gods which had sanctioned it; or of the Sasanian Emperor Shāpūr I, who revived the ancient Achaemenian concept that he was the chosen instrument of the gods, that his conquests had been made through their assistance.¹³⁴ A similar relationship underlay the concept of the Roman emperors and their divine comes, their special comrades and associates who could aid them, protect them, but abandon them as well—"te copias, te consilium et tuos praebente divos" (Horace, *Carmina*, IV.14,33)—Hercules, Mars, Neptune, Serapis, Apollo, Minerva, the Dioscuri, Fortuna, Roma, Victoria.¹³⁵ The pantheon of the coins of Kanishka and Huvishka and the presumed pantheon in the peribolos of the Surkh Kotal shine most likely served a similar function.

Of great importance is the fact that in neither Indian nor Hellenistic traditions did the king equal the gods in glory or might. As at Nimrud Dagh, he was with them but not quite of them.¹³⁶ As king, he was a contingent, dependent power who must always honor and propitiate the higher ones even if after death he might assume a place among them. Antiochus of Kommagene claimed that he had erected his mountaintop Hierothesion as evidence of his piety and proof of the favor which he had enjoyed and the aid which the gods

had given his enterprises. The erection of an equestrian bronze statue of the Seleucid Antiochus I in the temple of Anāhitā at Ilion had a similar, three-fold purpose: it was a focus of prayers to the deity for the well-being of the deified king; it recorded the king's piety toward the sanctuary; and it served the cult of the deified king himself, for which there were separate priests.¹³⁷ In Indian literature of this period, the contingent nature of the king's divinity is shown by legends which tell of a king rising to the heavens by means of his conquests and ceremonies. This status could, however, be lost, if the king lost his virtue; for example, Kings Māndhātā and Nahusha had overweening ambitions to surpass Indra in power, and they were both cast down from heaven. At Nāgārjunikoṇḍa, the tragic legend of Māndhātā's fall was illustrated on several stūpas.¹³⁸

RITUALS AND CEREMONIES

Almost a universal feature of the royal cults were accession and birthday festivals. Antiochus of Kommagene, for example, stipulated that these two occasions were to be celebrated annually with feasts throughout the nation and were also, on two fixed days of each month, to be celebrated by priests of the royal cult. The priests at Nimrud Dagħ were ordered to tend the statues, to place crowns on the images, to burn incense on the altars in their honor, to cover the sacred tables with fitting dishes and kraters of wine, and to distribute largess to those who came to the festivals. A group of royal musicians was assigned in perpetuity to Antiochus' shrine, never to be detached from the service of the cult.

Outside such cult centers, royal portraits were frequently used as emblems of fealty. Philostratus wrote that Apollonius of Tyana had been ordered to worship in Babylon the image of the Parthian king, presumably Vardanes (reigned from about A.D. 40 to 48).¹³⁹ Domitian, who ruled from A.D. 81 to 96 and was probably a contemporary of Vima, called himself *Dominus et Deus*, and ordered his soldiers to sacrifice before his image as a proof of loyalty or face trial for *Atheotes*. Under Marcus Aurelius (A.D. 121-180), adoration of the imperial image was widely practiced in military camps.¹⁴⁰

These traditions were strong in third-century Iran, with local variations. A votive monument containing a statue (now lost) of Shāpūr I stood in the center of the capital at Bishāpūr.¹⁴¹ A large and enigmatic image of that prince was placed in a cave in the mountains above the capital.¹⁴² The trilingual inscription of Shāpūr at Naqsh-e Rostam begins: "I, the Mazdean God, Shāpūr, King of Kings Iranian and non-Iranian, of the race of the gods . . ." and records the establishment of a ceremonial fire, called Khosro-Šapor, "for our soul and to perpetuate our name," along with other fires for his Queen of Queens Atur-Anāhit and his subordinate kings.¹⁴³

RELIGIOUS CONTENT OF THE ROYAL CULTS

In the West, there is little evidence that the royal cults ever held a profoundly emotional religious content except with such unusual men as Alexander, Augustus, or the early Seleucids. Only a few kings, such as Antiochus IV, Nero, or Commodus—and they may have been mentally unbalanced—thought that they were indeed gods. The cults were subject to much derision in urban, sophisticated circles.¹⁴⁴ Rather than a heightening of religious sensibility, they were often an outgrowth of a kind of religious skepticism on the part of an educated aristocracy, who exploited them to promote unity and cohesion in the state, to extract homage from the less sophisticated public, and to demonstrate the status of the monarch. There are only a few instances in which the votaries of the ancient royal cults expected personal material blessings in exchange for their devotion—one of the chief indications of deep popular religious sentiment.¹⁴⁵

The Roman poet Seneca, calling the deification of Claudius his apocolyntosis (pumpkinification), depicted a senate of gods in which Janus said: "Once it was a great thing to be made one of the gods; now you have made the glory a farce." To this, the deified Augustus added: "Who will worship a god like Claudius? Who will believe in him? As long as you make such gods, no one will believe that you are gods."¹⁴⁶

Interestingly, such skepticism appears also in Indian literature, as in the romantic tale, *Kādambarī*, written by the courtly bard Bāṇa, who had expended great effort eulogizing the emperor Harsha (reigned A.D. 606-647). In the *Kādambarī* a long passage records a sermon to a young prince, heir apparent to a throne, which belittles Lakshmi as the emblem of Royal Good Fortune (*Rājyaśrī*) and mocks royal pretensions to divinity.¹⁴⁷

The sermon says that kings are deceived by more than mortal praise from men ready to raise faults to the grade of virtues. Though subject to mortal conditions, kings look on themselves as having appeared on earth as divine beings with superhuman destiny. They employ a pomp fit only for gods and thus win the contempt of all mankind. Once the delusion of their own divinity is established in their minds, they think that their own pair of arms has received another pair; they imagine their forehead has a third eye; they consider the sight of themselves a favor; they esteem their glance a benefit; they regard their words as a gift; they hold their command a glorious boon; they deem their touch a purification. Truly, the post of empire is terrible in the hundreds of evil and perverse impulses which attend it. The sermon also describes the goddess Lakshmi as a wretched evil creature who touches not the virtuous man, despises a lofty nature, avoids a hero as a thorn. She is the fostering rain of the poison plants of desire; like a creeper, she is ever a parasite; like the sun's ray, she alights on one thing after another; like the cavity of hell, she is full of dense

darkness; she dwells on the sword's edge as if to learn cruelty; she does not keep friendships; she does not follow the fortunes of a family. Like a creature of dust, she soils even the pure.

Whatever may have been the attitudes of courtiers and sophisticates, the royal cults were extremely useful politically. In conquests they could make the new rulers palatable to the subject people by leaving local religious institutions untouched and adding a coördinated demigod. The conqueror, in the process, lost some of the restrictive sheath of his national origins, assumed a higher nature, and could thus comprehend the many ethnic or political units within an empire. From a popular standpoint, the ruler cults were an important means of expressing loyalty and maintaining the sacred connections which linked the state to the realm of the gods. No Westerner, observing the hold of Indian princes over their subjects into modern times, would question that for the people whose thoughts had been molded by ancient traditions the archetypal ideal of divine kingship retained its legacy of extraordinary power.

FRONTALITY IN KUSHAN PORTRAITS

The entire series of Kushan sculptured portraits is pervaded by the effects of a symmetrical, almost heraldic frontality, static and at times awesome, mitigating most of the sense of three-dimensional depth in the statues. Even Vima's portrait, which was the most deeply carved of all, was intended to be seen primarily *en face*.

Frontality was not unknown in the pre-Kushan art of India. Some of the pillar figures from Bhārhut, from about 100 B.C., are symmetrically *en face*; the Parkhām and Patna colossi are essentially frontal in spirit. Yet during this same formative period, Indian relief carving was filled with a seeking for physical grace, for descriptive detail, for a kind of ecstatic release of a flood of images which stands at the opposite pole from the spirit of frontality—this was the narrative art of Sāñchī, Amarāvati, Bhārhut, and pre-Kushan Mathurā itself.

There was great interest in pictorial story telling, so great that the artists often placed more than one event within a single frame with the compositional method known as the continuous narrative. They experimented with the establishment of spatial depth by placing figures seen from the rear in the foreground of a scene; they depicted the psychological reactions of men to events, sought to capture the effects of motion, dwelled on humorous subjects, and delighted in portraying animals, flowers, jewelry, and—above all—lovely women.

The scene of the Trayastriṃśa Paradise at the Great Stūpa at Sāñchī (Figure 156) was made, not by monks, but by the ivory carvers from the nearby town of Vidiśā. This is proudly stated in the inscription and, with the evidence chiefly of the Begram treasure, we have a clear picture of the craft of ivory

carving at this time. It was the production of sumptuous objects for the aristocracy, of highly ornamented jewelry and cosmetic cases, of ivory sheathing for thrones and beds, and of decorative figurines—objects suffused with a sense of eroticism, of naïve pomp and worldly pleasures.

At Sāñchī, before the Church had developed much of an artistic language of its own, the Buddhists must have been obliged literally to borrow craftsmen and aesthetic values from the wealthy merchants and princelings, who were the chief lay supporters of the faith. These families had long supported their own separate aesthetic traditions, of which the classical Indian drama is one of the most striking relics today; in several instances the taste of these circles dominated Buddhist art. This was especially true at Amarāvati and Nāgārjunikonda in South India, where the narrative style in sculpture lasted until the fourth century, presenting religious motifs with great delicacy and charm and nervous vitality, which are obviously reflections, not of a monastic view of life, but of a secular, courtly one (Figures 157-163). This is the same tradition that was to appear again with even greater strength in many of the Ajantā frescoes of the fifth and early sixth centuries, which reveal the painters' great interest in dancing figures and musicians, in theatrical gestures and exaggerated facial expressions, and in elaborate textiles and furniture.

Much of the grandeur of Buddhist thought lay beyond the expressive powers of the ivory carvers of Vidiśā. They, and the sculptors of Bhārhut or Bodhi Gayā, may well have been aware of the significance of the renunciation of his palace by Gotama or of his attaining Enlightenment. Aesthetically, however, the small scale of the carved figures and the myriad of circumstantial details project a mundane spirit with little of the aura of confidence, serenity, and spiritual triumph inherent in the character of the faith.

Even before the birth of Sākyamuni, the *Upanishads* had defined a spiritual regimen and a goal of behavior which were among the highest and most subtle achievements of Indian thought. These were principles established far outside the courtly and mercantile circles in which the visual arts—ivory carving and other decorative skills—were centered. Only after generations of development did Indian artistic traditions gain the formal means to communicate the experience of inner illumination. The artists learned to embody with stone or paint the dignity of monastic withdrawal and the concentration of psychological powers, and to suggest the attainment of the intellectual mastery that claimed to see beyond contingent and ephemeral things into the essential and enduring reality of the cosmos. Not until the great fifth-century cult images of Sāmāth and Mathurā is it possible to feel that the finest aesthetic and theological traditions have become reconciled, insofar as it is possible to reconcile brute matter with concepts of an ultimate reality that lies beyond matter.

Aesthetically, the step-by-step development toward this point can be seen in the Mathurā carvings. The descriptive, assertive quality of earlier statements

was superseded by a formal principle which was hieratic in spirit. Scenes from the Jātaka tales diminished in quantity and dramatic content; narrative episodes from the life of the Buddha became increasingly condensed in their presentation; conversely, cult images became more and more refined as vehicles of artistic expression. The large relief panel from Huvishka's Vihāra (Figure 40) clearly reveals these tendencies at work about A.D. 225.

The hieratic manner seemed best suited to express the superhuman forces which had long obsessed the Indian imagination. Even in medieval monuments where the devotional spirit had called forth images whose energies seem to break the bonds of reason—as at Khajurāho, Srīraṅgam, and Tanjore—the statues are placed within a quasi-geometric schema, their narrative properties are unexploited, and the figures seem to be held by the pressures of symmetry and frontality.

This is not to suggest that the development of Indian sculpture was a simple evolution from narrative and descriptive to hieratic and emblematic formulas; rather, the implication is that these two stylistic tendencies responded to different currents in Indian thought—roughly analogous to the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Upanishads*, to the Epic and Vedantic, to a secular *via affirmativa* and a metaphysical *via negativa*. The *Rāmāyaṇa* is still a major element in the consciousness of the land: itinerant dramatists perform the *Rāmliḷa* in a thousand towns, and Rāma and Lakshmaṇa serve as ideals of Kshatriya honor, manliness, and civic devotion for tradition-minded families. Yet scenes from the Epics appear only rarely in monumental art—how incongruous are the episodes from the *Mahābhārata* carved into the walls of the Nandi Maṇḍapam at the Kailāśanātha of Ellura! The triumph of hieraticism in art reflected the domination of the monumental plastic arts by religious interests in society. When courtly interests asserted themselves, as in the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century miniatures of Rājputāna, a lyrical and narrative spirit was expressed. But Rājput miniatures do not speak with the authority of the carvings of Bādāmi or Elephanta as expressions of India's unique vision in religious art.

The task at hand here is to examine the implications of the hieratic frontality of the Kushan portraits in order to determine whether it was derived from the internal processes of Indian art or whether it was evoked by the influence of Iran and the Near East.¹⁴⁸ During the first two centuries before and the two centuries after the birth of Christ, there was in Western Asia an almost magnetic attraction at work, drawing human images into the guise of emblematic rigidity and frontality.¹⁴⁹ The process derived not so much from primitive technical or artistic means (although this was a factor at times) as from a realignment of conviction and ideology—a denial of the spirit and form of Hellenism.

In the West, the formula was impressed upon such salient monuments as the contemporary reliefs of the Arch of Constantine and the royal portrait

colossi at Barletta. The style was strong at Palmyra, Dura, and Hatra—centers where Western and Parthian styles mingled, but with the latter dominant. In the Sasanian period, frontal images of kings were placed at Naqsh-i-Rustam, Bishāpūr, Taq-i-Bustan, and upon the regal salvers according to a standard formula.

Numerous and inconclusive studies have attempted to define the origins of frontality in Iranian and Greco-Roman art. The concept is often traced back to archaic and generally apotropaic forms in which the dividing line between art and sympathetic magic was virtually indiscernible—as in the Greek



Fig. 26. Parthian King, perhaps Mithradates III. Coin 296.

Gorgon heads, the Gilgamesh motif, and the Tao-t'ieh mask. The questions of its origin lie beyond the scope of this study, but its contemporary impact can be dramatically shown in the coin portraits of the Parthian kings. According to the universal practice of the Hellenic world, these kings were shown with their head and shoulders in profile. One king—perhaps Mithradates III (57-54 B.C.)—minted a now common drachma showing the monarch *en face* (Coin 296).¹⁵⁰ The innovation did not, however, become customary; frontality occurred only sporadically in the issues of the later Parthians (for example, Artabanus III, A.D. 11-40; Coin 299), or even of the Sasanians, in spite of the “erosion” of Hellenic aesthetic standards; the imprint of Hellenic custom on numismatics was too great.¹⁵¹ The Kushans never adopted complete frontality for their ruler portraits; the heads are always in profile.¹⁵²

When frontality is found in Parthian coinage in the sequence of profile portraits, it has the shock of radical innovation. The ruler's face takes on a sense of presence as his eyes meet those of the viewer; the king is imbued with immanent authority and an awesome presence absent in the side view, wherein he is psychologically detached, observed by the viewer, who in turn escapes being seen by the king. It is as though the most operative parts of the total personality of the ruler were abstracted and concentrated in the tiny circuit

of a coin, thus approaching the mythic and magical vitality which animated the imagery of ancient Sumer and Babylon.

The intrusion of frontality into the Parthian numismatic idiom should not be surprising. Indeed, what is surprising is that it did not become more general, because it is the most consistent stylistic element discernible in Parthian art. Its appearance there has been interpreted as a volitional act, a self-conscious casting away of the illusionism and sophistication of Hellenistic or Greco-Iranian styles, a part of a general reaffirmation of Iranian nationality and ancient traditions. Rostovtzeff singled out a terra cotta plaque, formerly in the Sarre Collection, as graphically epitomizing this process (Text Figure 27).¹⁵³ There, a prince dressed in the Parthian national costume is posed in



Fig. 27. Goddess in niche worshiped by prince in Parthian costume.
Terra cotta plaque.

hieratic frontality and stands before an enshrined deity, and is presented in a far more relaxed illusionistic guise and retains the imprint of Hellenism.¹⁵⁴

The tendency toward frontality in Parthian art can thus be associated with the evolution of a neo-Iranian political-cultural outlook at the time of the deadly hostilities with Rome, or when Mithradates II assumed the ancient title Great King of Kings, as Artabanus III dreamed of re-creating the empire of the Achaemenids, as the traditional sacrificial fires appeared on the reverse

of Arsacid coins and Pahlavi legends on the obverse—a process of atavistic recall which became even more powerful under the Sasanians.¹⁵⁵

It remains to be asked, however, how frontality could serve in this process of cultural atavism, since this factor was most notably absent from Achaemenid art clearly on display to the Parthians at Bisutun or Persepolis. Achaemenid relief carvings universally employed a variant of the so-called familiar aspect; the human figure was shown basically in profile, the eye in front view, the shoulders and hips equivocally foreshortened or slightly flattened (Figure 128). This use of the familiar aspect in two-dimensional art had been derived from older Assyrian and Babylonian imagery; it had prevailed also in Egypt, Crete, and in Greece itself until the late sixth century.

In free-standing statuary, however, frontality was an all-pervasive factor in ancient Mesopotamia—the conventional style of figure presentation.¹⁵⁶ The strict frontality of the bronze portrait from Shami (Figure 130) of the Parthian period was entirely congruent with the three-dimensional sculpture of ancient Assyria and Babylon, whereas the strict frontality in Parthian-period relief carving and painting was a technical innovation made possible by the achievements in verisimilitude of classical Greek art. These had ended the dependence of artists on the additive, conceptual system of the familiar aspect, making possible the foreshortening of feet and facial features which is necessary in the frontal view.

The frontal image of Vaharām II (A.D. 273-293) at Naqsh-e Rostam (Figure 134) possesses an element rare in ancient relief carving, but its effect is strongly archaistic—intentionally so. It only partly effaced ancient Elamite figures, which remain at the sides like witnesses from the past.¹⁵⁷ The royal shrine at Shami is only twenty miles from a number of Elamite rupestrian reliefs near Malamir.¹⁵⁸ Near the Darius inscription at Bisutun, Mithradates II and Gotarzes II carved a testament of their own triumphs,¹⁵⁹ and their sense of participation in an ancient regal tradition could have been no less strong than that of the Qajar King Fath Ali Shah (1797-1834). The latter, alas, placed his own epigraph atop theirs, placed his own image amid those of the Sasanian kings at Taq-i-Bustan, and placed another by the main road six miles west of the Sasanian capital of Bishāpūr.

In the aesthetic direction which frontality took, more was involved than cultural atavism and a reassertion of ancient Oriental traditions. In Parthian and related styles, frontality became involved with a kind of dematerialization and abstraction of form. The Hatra and Palmyra portraits demonstrate this fact—the faces have few traces of sensuality, but are imbued with a semi-geometric simplicity of form. The masks of these human subjects are by no means reduced to the status of schematic symbols, but neither were the carvers motivated by a sense of the vitality or uniqueness of the individual subject. The eyes are unfocused and languid, reflecting an inner animation and preoccupation

with a reality other than the purely visual—or aesthetic. In a row of human figures, the repetition of forms creates a sort of ritualistic aura, the cadence of a chant.¹⁰⁰

Among the early Indian examples of frontality—the Parkhām and Patna colossi, for example—the forms are so animated by a kind of radiant vitality and sense of expanding volume that they should never be thought of as expressing strictly formalized frontality. Their frontality is more a matter of technical limitation rather than that of willful dematerialization. They belong to a different and more assertive native tradition—early Indian sculpture serving an almost folkloristic ambient and not yet suffused with the doctrines of abstract theology.

The guardian figures from Bhārhut may be a different matter. Within the repertory of decorative images there and at Sāñchī are numerous elements of a West Asiatic origin, such as lion-griffins and battlement friezes.¹⁰¹ The extremely flat relief in which the guardians are carved and their abstract surface simplicity suggest an Iranian influence. Notwithstanding, most of the figures seem to try to twist on their axes to achieve a sinuous grace in *contrapposto*. The treatment of hands in the *añjali mudrā* is clumsy; primitive artistic means are clearly associated with heroic frontality. This is monumental Indian art in its formative, experimental phase, and a number of tendencies are imperfectly synthesized.

For the psychological and spiritual concepts which were the latent and essential content of Buddhist cult imagery, the frontality of Iranian and West Asian styles provided a logical direction into which Indian art evolved—may well have evolved even if the exemplar had not been at hand. But through trade connections, through regal institutions and imagery of the Kushans, through the strong orientation the Indo-Scythians had toward the Iranian culture sphere, the linkage between these two orbits became direct. To gauge the strength of this influence, we may contrast the separate paths of evolution of the art of the Āndhra country (lacking this strong link) with that of Mathurā. In the former, at Amarāvati and Nāgārjunikoṇḍa, the narrative and descriptive genius of early Indian sculpture continued in spite of obviously strong influences from the north; at Mathurā, the narrative element was suppressed and the cult image of the Buddha and Bodhisattva developed toward its aesthetic culmination in the fifth-century carvings there and at Sarnāth. The portraits in stone of Kanishka and Vima show Indian carvers' essays in this frontalized, hieratic direction. On one hand, they share the vitality of the early colossal Yaksha and Bodhisattva figures; on the other, they show the effects of the wide-open path of cultural influence from Iran and Southwest Asia.

- the Madras Museum, Pl. XXIX.2.
46. Banerji, MASI, no. 16, Pls. XIII.a, XIV.c.
47. Foucher, AGB, Vol. II, pp. 324-326, 362, 372, with illustrations. The pose appears in Java (Prambanam) and Thailand (Nagara Pathama of the Dvāravati period). Together with the lion throne, it can be seen in a record of the transmission of India modes to China, the notable Tun-huang banner depicting famous Indian images (Stein, *Serindia*, Pl. LXX, p. 1025, no. 0023).
48. DeMorgan, *Manuel de numismatique orientale*, fig. 132, pp. 139-142; Wroth, *BMC Parthia*, Pls. XIV.10, XVIII.15-17, XIX, XX.2.
49. R. H. McDowell, *Coins from Seleucia on the Tigris*, Pl. VI, nos. 138-143; pp. 104, 139-140, 212-221. The types were derived from those of Phraates IV (38-2 B.C.) minted at Seleucia, 27 B.C. (Wroth, *BMC Parthia*, p. 102). See also Rostovtzeff, "Dura and the Problem of Parthian art," *op. cit.*, p. 175.
50. Banerjea, *Development of Hindu Iconography*, pp. 312-313; Rao, *Hindu Iconography*, Pt. I, Vol. I, p. 29, Pl. IV; *Mānasāra* (see Acharya's translation, Vol. IV, p. 484).
51. Coomaraswamy, *HIIA*, fig. 64; Banerjea, *Development of Hindu Iconography*, p. 434; Zimmer, *The Art of Indian Asia*, p. 210.
52. Diskalkar, *JUPHS*, V (1932), p. 33.
53. *Bṛihat Saṃhitā* LVIII; cf. Diskalkar, *op. cit.*, pp. 31 ff.; Rao, *Hindu Iconography*, Vol. II, pp. 33-34.
54. *Viṣṇudharmottara* III.72.2-7; Banerjea, *JISOA*, XVI (1948), pp. 64-65.
55. Narain, *The Indo-Greeks*, pp. 71-73.
56. Bivar, *NNM (NSI)*, no. 3, 1955.
57. *BMC*, p. 172, but illustrated in Whitehead, *PMC*, Pl. XV.1; cf. Whitehead, *NC*, 1940, pp. 113-114.
58. This deity is probably Sūrya. The identification is borne out by a number of terra cotta plaques from Kauśāmbī and the Patna and Calcutta district which show the solar chariot *en face* but riding over a demon almost identical to that of the Bhāja viḥāra. These do not support the theory of R. G. Gayani that the charioteer and the elephant rider on the other side of the doorway are the cakravartin Māndhātā (*Bulletin of the Prince of Wales Museum of Western India*, I [1950], pp. 15-21).
59. Bussagli, *East and West (IsMEO)*, VI (1955), pp. 9-25.
60. Bussagli, *op. cit.*, p. 17.
61. Soper (*Artibus Asiae*, XII [1949], p. 272) holds that the Kushan kings had a royal myth that was either an imitation of that of Mithra or was deliberately merged with it. Plausible as this hypothesis may be, it must be considered speculative in view of the paucity of detailed information regarding both eastern Iranian religions and the Kushans themselves.
62. Maricq, *JA*, 1958, pp. 367, 396.
63. Abu Ishak al Istakhri, cited by Banerjea (*JISOA*, XVI [1948], p. 75).
64. Beal trans., Vol. II, p. 274.
65. Whitehead, *NC* (1937), pp. 60-72.
66. Hazra, *Studies in the Upapurāṇas*, Vol. I, pp. 16, 32, 93; Pargiter, *Purāṇa Text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age*, p. xii, xvii; Scheftelowitz, *Acta Orientalia*, XI (1933), pp. 292-333; appendix to H. H. Wilson's translation of the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, Vol. V, pp. 381-385; Winternitz, *History of Indian Literature*, Vol. I, p. 567.
67. *EI*, II, pp. 338 ff.
68. *EI*, IX (1908-09), p. 279.
69. And note the long prayer to Sūrya offered by Yudhishtīr at the beginning of the *Mbh.* III.3 in which he gives 108 names of Sūrya, ending with Maitreya. In the *Bṛihat Devatā*, datable as early as 400 B.C., the sun is equated "with what is, and has been, and is to be, of what moves and is stationary . . . all of this some regard the sun alone to be the origin, the cause of dissolution" (1.61; trans. Macdonnell, p. 14).
70. Scheftelowitz, *op. cit.*, p. 303; *Aṣi Yašt* XVIII, *SBE*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 370 ff.
71. Rao, *Hindu Iconography*, Vol. I, p. 303, quoting the *Viśvakarmaśilpa*.
72. *Ibid.*, p. 313.
73. Mihir Yašt, *SBE*, Vol. XXIII, p. 145; "The good and holy Sraoša, the tall and strong Raṣṇu . . ."
74. Scheftelowitz, *op. cit.*, p. 313.
75. Rowland, "Buddha and the Sun God," *Zalmoxis*, I (1938).
76. *Aśvaghosha*, *Buddhacarita* II.7.503, 506; trans. *SBE*, Vol. XIX, p. 72 (Chinese version).

77. ASIR 1904-05, p. 89.
78. For the Hūṇa sun temple of Mihireśvara at Srinagar see JASB, 1861, pp. 275 ff.; *Rājatarāṅgīnī*, I.306.
79. EI, IX (1907-08), p. 279.
80. Bāṇa, *Harshacarita* IV.135; trans. Cowell and Thomas, p. 104.
81. *Ibid.*, IV.137; Cowell and Thomas, p. 105.
82. *Ibid.*, V.188 ff.; Cowell and Thomas, pp. 156 ff.
83. On Apollonius of Tyana, III.106; trans. Philimore, I, p. 122.
84. Mbh. VI.59.47; 107.76.
85. Mbh. VII.33.18.
86. For this, I have used primarily the summaries as given in Cumont, *Textes et monuments relatifs au culte de Mithra*; Rostovtzeff, *Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire*, pp. 407, 617 n. 36; Cumont, *Oriental Religions in Roman Paganism*.
87. CAH, XI, p. 647; CAH, XII, pp. 358-359.
88. Rostovtzeff, *Dura-Europos and its Art*, Pl. XIII, pp. 58 ff.
89. Debevoise, *Political History of Parthia*, p. 27.
90. *Mahāvagga* VI.30.5: "Who has not seen the thirty three gods, O disciples! Let them contemplate the . . . the Licchavi princes . . . They are both alike . . . There is no differences except in name between a god and men." Cf. Foucher, *AGB*, Vol. II, p. 177.
91. Monneret de Villard, *Orientalia*, XVII (1948), pp. 215-217.
92. Herzfeld, *Zoroaster and His World*, p. 818; Soper, *Artibus Asiae*, II (1945), p. 269.
93. Hertel, *Die avestischen Herrschafts- und Siegesfeuer*; Wilhelm in *Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy Madressa Jubilee Volume*, pp. 159-166; and *Muséon*, IV (1885), pp. 510-531; Cumont, *Textes et monuments . . .*, Vol. I, pp. 284 ff.
94. Frankfort, *Art of the Ancient Orient*, Pl. 65.
95. Bailey, *Zoroastrian Problems in the Ninth-Century Books*, pp. 1-78.
96. Christensen, *Les gestes des rois . . .*, pp. 14-15; Yašt 19.3-35; *Yasna* 9.3-5.
97. Wilhelm, *Madressa Volume*, pp. 165-166; Cumont, *Textes et monuments . . .*, Vol. I, pp. 284-5. In such guises, traditional gods and *genii loci* might serve as patrons. Rapson, *JRAS*, 1905, pp. 786-87, ref the Tychae on the Azes' coins. For a similar institution among the Roman emperors, cf. Jaeger in *Hermes*, XLVIII, pp. 442 ff.
98. Rostovtzeff, *Yale Class. Studies*, V, p. 175.
99. Cumont, *Textes et monuments . . .*, Vol. I, p. 285, n. 1.
100. Bailey, *Zoroastrian Problems*, p. 13.
101. Trans. from Sanskrit by Johnston, p. 142.
102. Fleet, *CII*, p. 50; the political background for this statement was the fact that Skandagupta had not been the legitimate heir to the throne; his mother had not been the crowned Queen.
103. *Harshacarita*; trans. Cowell and Thomas, pp. 57-58.
104. Mbh. V.94.3342; VIII.46.2181. Hopkins, *Epic Mythology*, p. 205.
105. *Raghuvamśa* XVII.25.
106. *Ibid.*, L.32.
107. *Harshacarita* V.186; trans. Cowell, p. 153. It is possible that the idealized princely donors (mithuna pairs) at Karīr and Kānheri were also personifications of the prosperity and well-being of the state in the form of the perfect prince and consort. Carved on a large scale and prominently displayed, these were probably not portraits in the strict sense of the word. See Bachhofer, *EIS*, Pl. 67, 68; Coomaraswamy, *HIIA*, fig. 135.
108. Stein, *Indian Antiquary*, XVIII (1888), pp. 92ff.; Herzfeld, *Zoroaster and His Times*, pp. 176-186, 818; also his Kushano-Sasanian coins (MASI no. 38), p. 129; Gardner, *BMC*, p. lxiv.
109. Christensen, *L'empire des Sasanides*, p. 66, n.3; *Iran sous les Sasanides*, p. 161.
110. Justi, *Iran. namenbuch*, pp. 369, 493.
111. Foucher, *JA*, 1909, pp. 1ff. This version of the tale is the *Divyāvadāna*, Chapter XII, translated in part by Bourmouf, *Introduction à l'histoire du Bouddhisme indien*, pp. 162 ff. See Chapter IX below.

112. *Dhammapada*, XXVI.387; trans. *SBE*, Vol. X, p. 89.
113. Sivaramaūṭī (*Amarāvati Sculpture*, pp. 62-63) interprets this as expressing the Buddha's superiority over Rudra-Agni by the appropriation of their lustre and flame. Coomaraswamy's interpretation differs (*Elements of Buddhist Iconography*, pp. 8 ff., 34).
114. Foucher, *AGB*, Vol. I, figs. 261, 263; Meunié, *Shotorak*, Pls. III.10, X.35 (Buddha in meditation), X.36 (*Dīpaṃkara Buddha*), X.37, and X.39. Marshall, *ASIR*, 1921-22, Pl. XXV.a. It has been frequently noted that the motif of the isolated flames on the shoulders of the Buddha appear first and most frequently in the art of the Kāpiśa region; cf. Hackin, *Mon. et Mem. Acad. des Inscriptions*, XXVIII (1925-26), pp. 25-44.
115. Mīhir Yaśt, trans. Darmesteter, *SBE*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 131-137; Soper, *Artibus Asiae*, XII (1949), p. 270.
116. Ingholt, *Parthian Sculptures from Hatra*, pp. 23-46.
117. Rostovtzeff, *Dura-Europos and Its Art*, frontispiece and p. 70.
118. Göbl ("Münzprägung . . .," *op. cit.*, p. 181) believes that the motif is a symbol of the Kushan conquest of the mountain passes along the invasion path to India.
119. Lévi, *JA*, 1934, pp. 1-21. Thomas reviewed the subject and concluded that the Kushan devaputra was similar to the concept of the Chinese Son of Heaven but not dependent upon it (*B.C. Law Volume*, Pt. II, pp. 305-319). The term *Bḡpwr* was used by Central Asians in antiquity as a reference to the Chinese emperor; see Henning, *BSOAS*, XII (1948), p. 603.
120. Cunningham, *The Stūpa at Bhārhut*, Pls. LIV-LVI; Majumdar, *Guide to the Sculptures of the Indian Museum*, Part I, p. 90.
121. Lévi, *JA*, 1934, p. 14; the sacral value of the term in Bactria has been the subject of a disagreement between Maricq and Henning. The latter feels that it had a low degree of sanctity (*BSOAS*, XXIII [1960], p. 52 n.); Maricq defended his attribution of a considerable amount of divinity (*JA*, 1960, pp. 161-166).
122. For introductory studies of this vast subject, see Cerfaux, and Tondriau, *Le culte des souverains dans la civilisation Gréco-Romaine; The Sacral Kingship* (essays from the VIIIth International Congress of the History of Religions); McEwan, *The Oriental Origin of Hellenistic Kingship*; Bikerman, *Institutions des Seleucides*; Taylor, *The Divinity of the Roman Emperor*; Nock, *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, XLVIII (1928), pp. 21-43; Nock, *CAH*, Vol. XII, pp. 760 ff.
123. McEwan, *op. cit.*, p. 29.
124. *Ibid.*
125. Nock, *JHS*, XLVIII (1928), pp. 37 ff.
126. Bikerman, *Institutions*, pp. 236-238.
127. *Ibid.*, p. 245.
128. Tam, *GBI*, p. 90; Narain, *Indo-Greeks*, pp. 46-47.
129. Herzfeld, *Archaeological History of Iran*, p. 47; Hill, *BMC Arabia, Mesopotamia, Persia*, p. clxiv.
130. Bevan, *The House of Seleucus*, Vol. I, p. 142.
131. This passage is derived synthetically from a number of variant Chinese and Nepalese translations of the original and lost Sanskrit text, as given by Lévi, *JA*, 1934, pp. 3-8.
132. Trans. by Rühler, *SBE*, Vol. XXV, pp. 216-217. Further discussed by J. Gonda, "The sacred character of ancient Indian kingship," in *Sacral Kingship*, pp. 172-180, in which he stresses the point that these conceptions belong more to Vaishnavism than to other Indian traditional religions.
133. U. N. Ghoshal, *Studies in Indian History and Culture*, pp. 301-338.
134. Mouterde, *Inscriptions grecques et latines de syrie*, I.18; Grant, *Hellenistic Religions*, p. 23; Maricq, *Syria*, XXXV (1958), p. 314.
135. *CAH*, Vol. XII, pp. 357-358.
136. Concept explored by Arthur Nock, *JHS*, XLVIII (1928), p. 37.
137. Bikerman, *op. cit.*, p. 245.
138. For Nahusha, cf. *Mbh.* V.9.17 ff.; for Māndhātā, *Sivaramamurti, Amarāvati*, pp. 222-224, and MacDonnell and Keith, *Vedic Index*, II, p. 132. For a reference to both these cakravartins within the literature of the Kushan realm, the *Aśvaghosha Buddhacarita* (XI.13, 14), Sanskrit version, Johnston trans. p. 151.

139. Philostratus II.54 and 66; trans. Phillimore, Vol. I, pp. 64 and 78.
140. CAH, Vol. XII, pp. 354-356.
141. Ghirshman, *Iran*, p. 321.
142. Maricq, *Syria*, XXXV (1958), Pl. XXIII; Pope, SPA, Pl. 161b.
143. Maricq, *Syria*, XXXV (1958), pp. 316 ff.; Sprengling, *Third Century Iran . . .*, pp. 14-20.
144. See Kenneth Scott, "Humor at the Expense of the Ruler Cult," *Classical Philology*, XXVII (1932), pp. 317 ff.; also his "Tiberius' refusal of the title 'Augustus'," *Classical Philology*, XXVII (1932), pp. 43 ff.; Lily Ross Taylor, *The Divinity of the Roman Emperor*, pp. 87-101.
145. Nock (*Journal of Roman Studies*, XLVII [1956], pp. 115-123). quotes a passage from the *Epitaphios of Libanius* (A.D. 314-393) regarding Julian: "I have mentioned representations of Julian; many cities have set him beside the images of the gods and honor him as they do the gods. Already a blessing has been besought of him in prayer, and it was not in vain. To such an extent has he literally ascended to the gods and received a share of their power from them themselves."
146. Cited by Scott, *Classical Philology*, XXVII (1932), pp. 325-326.
147. Trans. Ridding, pp. 76-83. The following passages have been extracted from the endless chains of aphorisms typical of Bāṇa's style.
148. Two lengthy studies in this same subject are by Schlumberger, "Descendants non-méditerranées de l'art grec," *Syria*, XXXVII (1960), pp. 131-164, 253-319; Bussagli, "Persistenze delle forme ellenistiche nell'arte del Gandhāra," *Revista dell'istituto nazionale d'archeologia e storia dell'arte*, n.s. V and VI (1956-57), pp. 149-247.
149. Clark Hopkins, *Ars Islamica*, III (1936), pp. 186-196; Suys, *Ann. de l'Institut de Philosophie et Histoire Orientale*, VIII (1935), pp. 187 ff.; Seyrig, *Syria*, XVIII (1937), pp. 37 ff.; Rostovtzeff, *Yale Classical Studies*, V (1935), pp. 157-304, *passim*.
150. The identity of the king is not certain although the date of the coin type is relatively secure.
151. Frontality in Sasanian coins occurred in the early issues of Ardashīr I (Paruck, *Sasanian Coins* Pl. I) and again in the issues of Khosroes II (Pl. XXI).
152. They did adopt it on occasions for their deities. On the coins of Kanishka: Buddha (Coin 88); of Huvishka; Mahasena (Coin 95).
153. Rostovtzeff, *Yale Classical Studies* V (1935), pp. 238-240. Schlumberger brings this issue into a more precise formulation (*Syria*, XXXVII [1960], pp. 256-261).
154. Bachhofer used the same plaque to demonstrate the Parthian stylistic properties of certain of the Taxila toilet trays (*JAQS*, 61 [1941], p. 225).
155. Ghirshman, *Iran*, pp. 256-257, 277-278.
156. For example, in Frankfort, *Art and Architecture of the Ancient Orient*, the third-millennium effigies from Tell-Asmar (Pls. 13-17), images of Gudea (Pls. 46-49), the portrait of Assurnasirpal II (Pl. 82). But note the sporadic appearance of heraldic frontality in the most ancient glyptic art, as certain seals from Ur (Frankfort, *op. cit.*, Pl. 39) or the vase from Telloh (Pl. 32).
157. Herzfeld, *Archaeological History of Iran*, Pl. IV; Ali Sami, *Pasargadae*, pp. 26-28.
158. Jéquier, G., "Description du site de Malamir," appendix to J. de Morgan, *Mémoires de la Délégation en Perse*, Vol. III (1901).
159. Herzfeld, *Archaeological History of Iran*, pp. 54-56; also his *Am Tor von Asien*, Pls. XXI-XXII.
160. Cf. Hopkins, *Berytus*, III (1936), p. 26.
161. Coomaraswamy, *IIIA*, p. 11.

NOTES TO CHAPTER IX

1. Bajpai, *Proceedings, Indian Historical Congress*, 11th Session, 1948, pp. 95 ff. Similar names are on Jamālpur slabs: K(sh)andamihira, Vakamihira, ?Horumurddaphara (Lüders, *Mathurā Inscriptions*, pp. 67, 94-98).
2. Marshall and Foucher, *Sāñchī*, pp. 385-387; *EI*, IX, pp. 244-245; *Sāñchī Museum Catalogue*, p. 30. See also Chapter IV, n. 22.
3. Lüders, *Indian Antiquary*, XXXIII, p.

I. THE ERA OF KANISHKA

THE KUSHAN PORTRAIT statues are among the basic documents of the classic problems of Indian chronology from the first century B.C. to the fourth century A.D. The problems are created by a corpus of more than two hundred dated inscriptions in Brāhmī from western and central India and in Kharoshthī, chiefly from the northwest. These dates are in unknown eras, and have thus far comprised an elaborate conundrum because of uncertain readings (especially in the Kharoshthī inscriptions), contradictory evidence, and difficulties in relating numismatic and literary data. By the very confused nature of this material, only a limited number of dependable conclusions have been extracted; these have not been precise enough to provide a demonstrable answer to a simple question: In what year of the Christian era did Kanishka begin his regnal reckoning?

A correct date would give a much firmer basis for the historical scholarship of this epoch; it would provide a precise chronology for hundreds of Kushan period carvings, many of which bear dated inscriptions in the Kanishka era. In spite of a great quantity of evidence and the expenditure of immense effort, I am confident that at the moment of writing (following an exhaustive seminar discussion by Indian and European scholars at the University of London in April, 1960), the problem has not been demonstrably solved—claims to the contrary notwithstanding.

Most of the historical events of this epoch can still be shifted chronologically at least a generation one way or another. An exception are the reigns of Caṣṭana and Rudradāman, whose dates seem almost certain (see Chapter V). Otherwise, this shifting creates such a great number of variables that a wide range of things is possible. It is possible, for example, to trust the historic value of medieval Christian legends and to see Gondophares as the host of St.

Thomas the Apostle and thus alive in the second quarter of the first century A.D. On the other hand, it is possible to think along with Mme van Lohuizen that Gondophares lived before the time of Christ and was celebrated in the Acts of the Apostles because he was the most famous of North Indian kings of that general epoch. Obviously, both possibilities cannot be correct, but in the state of our knowledge neither can be demonstrably proved right or wrong. One can only choose the more likely, and build up a chain of such contingent propositions. The date of Gondophares is conditioned by that of Rājūvula, who must have preceded him, and by that of the Kushans, who followed him closely in the occupation of Taxila. None of the issues can be seen in isolation.

In principle, I have chosen not to focus attention on the dating of the different eras, chiefly because my interests lie elsewhere and because the problems are so intricate that to deal with them seriously is an independent, full-time task. Nevertheless, I have made the assumption that the beginning of Kanishka's era occurred in the early decades of the second century A.D., and am obliged to document this assumption and its relationship to three other theories which are championed by most qualified scholars and supported by reasonable evidence.

THE ARGUMENT FOR A.D. 78

The doctrine most commonly held is that Kanishka was the founder of the Saka era of A.D. 78, one of two nationwide computations of dates founded in this epoch (the other being the Vikrama era of 58 B.C.). The Saka era remains even today one of the official calendrical systems of the Republic of India. There is no question that it was used by the Western Kshatrapas from the second through the fourth centuries A.D., but the oldest epigraphic records of the name of the era itself are Chalukyan inscriptions of the sixth century around Badami.¹ Of all the theories regarding the date of Kanishka, those for A.D. 78 are the most cogent, the simplest, and apparently the most reasonable:²

As the name implies, the era was associated with Indo-Scythians. Kanishka was the greatest of the Indo-Scythian kings known to history. He had hegemony over the Western Kshatrapas, who certainly used this era.

Kanishka is the only Indo-Scythian king actually known to have begun an era.

The general historical pattern places him in close proximity to this date. (This statement is used in all the arguments.)

The reign of Kanishka, which was a period of the expansion of power, is a full half-century removed from the time of Rudradāman, the expansion of whose power brought him into areas known to have been ruled by Kanishka.

These arguments have been countered, most specifically by Sten Konow and Sir John Marshall, with the following major points: ³

The Chinese dynastic annal, the *Hou Han-shu*, which is a major source of Kushan history, covers the period between A.D. 25 and 125. It discusses Kujula and Vima in some detail, but does not mention Kanishka.

The Chinese General Pan-ch'ao launched a vigorous offensive in the western parts of the Tarim Basin between A.D. 73 and 102. Hsüan-tsang tells that Kanishka received hostages from that region; if the pilgrim's tale is correct, then Kanishka could not have been a contemporary of Pan-ch'ao.

Mathurā sculptures exported to Sāñchī bear inscriptions of the years 22 and 28, which Marshall assumes to be of the era of Kanishka. If this era had begun in A.D. 78, those sculptures would have been carved between A.D. 100 and 108; at that time, however, Sāñchī was in the possession of the Āndhra kings, who would not likely have permitted such testimony of Indo-Scythian power. (I believe that both these statues were carved during the second Kushan era; stylistically, they should be removed from the time of Kanishka I, see Chapter IV, n. 22.)

The hegemony of the Kushans over the Western Kshatrapas has never been demonstrated. Nowhere is there an explicit connection between the Kanishka era and that of the Śakas, or between the Kushan government and that of the Śakas.

From the standpoint of art history, an early date for Kanishka broadens an already large and difficult gap between the late Kushan sculptures and those of the early Gupta period.

THE ARGUMENT FOR A.D. 128

This theory has two basic supports.⁴ The first, an *argumentum ex silentio*, is that because of the absence of any reference to Kanishka in the *Hou Han-shu*, his accession must have occurred after A.D. 125. The second is a series of calculations made by the Dutch Orientalist and astronomer W. E. van Wijk. At Konow's behest, he took two Kharoshthī inscriptions which mentioned both an asterism and a date in the era of Kanishka and calculated the possible coincidence of the two, using as his guide the Hindu astronomical text the *Sūryasiddhānta*. The epigraphs were the Zeda inscription of the year 11 and the Ohind one of the year 61. Then, working on the assumption that the Kanishka era began somewhere between A.D. 78 and 130, Konow asked van Wijk to determine in which years between A.D. 89 and 150 the Zeda inscription could occur and in which years between A.D. 149 and 200 that the Ohind one could occur. Upon this basis, van Wijk determined that the origin of the era for the first inscription could have been the years 78, 117, or 135, and for the second one only 117—which seemed to make the matter certain. Later, however, van Wijk revised his calculations and concluded that the year 128 was the only one possible for both epigraphs.

This argument for the origin of Kanishka's era can be countered by the following points:

Neither Konow nor van Wijk was very sanguine about the value of the use of the *Sūryasiddhānta* to calculate material at least three centuries older. They said: "it is perhaps a priori improbable that their methods can be used for [the] calculation. . . . the remarks which follow are therefore made with every reserve."⁵

Van Wijk's revised figures did not indicate alternate possibilities to the year 128, affected probably by Konow's original assumption of the limits of Kanishka's date.

There is a possibility at least that the Zeda inscription belongs to the second Kushan era, and thus not to the same reckoning as the Ohind one. (Konow himself later made this assumption.)

The *argumentum ex silentio* about Kanishka and the *Hou Han-shu* might be extended to all the Chinese annals, since none of them mentions the greatest of the Kushan emperors by name. This puzzling omission of any reference to Kanishka has never been satisfactorily explained, whereas the *Hou Han-shu* does mention the activities of a major Yüeh-chih king (who received the Kashgar exiles) without giving his name.

THE ARGUMENT FOR A.D. 144

The theory of Roman Ghirshman that Kanishka acceded to power about A.D. 144 appeared just after the Second World War, and has passed into much of the recent literature as the "most likely."⁶ Buttressed by its author's clarity of expression, extraordinary erudition, and firsthand knowledge of Bactria and Iran, the argument rests largely upon these bases:

The Shāpūr I inscription at the Kaaba-i-Zardusht at Naqsh-e Rostam (near Persepolis) tells of the extension of Shāpūr's empire into a major part of the Kushan Empire (see Chapter V).

The inscriptions in the era of Kanishka apparently end in the year 98; Ghirshman assumes that it was Shāpūr's invasions which brought that reckoning to an end.

He believes that the archaeological evidence from Begram, Taxila, and Russian Turkestan support the theory that Shāpūr's invasion was accompanied by a uniform pattern of destruction at these various sites.

Shāpūr's chief campaigns in the eastern part of his empire occurred about A.D. 243. Thus, by subtracting 98 from 243, the date 144 is obtained.

There is evidence in the Wei-liao that in A.D. 230, a Yüeh-chih King Po-tiao (probably Vāsudeva) sent an emissary to China, conceivably to seek assistance against the Sasanians. In Ghirshman's view, this would be Vāsudeva I, who ruled after the year 74 of Kanishka's era.

This argument has been countered largely on the following grounds:

The depth and duration of Shāpūr's invasion of the Kushan empire are difficult to determine. There are problems about the meaning of the city name Pškbr (PASKIBOURON) in the Kaaba inscription—the place in India where the invasion ceased.⁷

The year 98 is not the final year of the Kushan reckoning. Mme van Lohuizen has shown that dated inscriptions in the Kushan era continued at Mathurā at least another half century (see Chapter IV). The Kushans retained their hegemony in Mathurā and Gandhāra after the year 98, although a study of the coinage gives sanction to the idea of the empire's splitting into two parts about that time.

There is no certain connection between Shāpūr and the year 98 of Kanishka. If a new Kushan era did not begin shortly after that date, it could have been a result of internal dissension, rebellion, attacks of the Yaudheyas, or the threats of Ardashīr I.

The dating of a King Vāsudeva in the year A.D. 230 loses cogency in the light of the number of kings with this name following Vāsudeva I.

Field archaeologists, both Russian and French, have questioned Ghirshman's interpretation of the pattern of destruction at Begram, Airtam, and Tal-i-Barzu, saying that coin finds and stratigraphy do not sustain his argument that Shapur I came through the region in a great destructive sweep.⁸

A date of A.D. 144 would bring Kanishka and Rudradāman into conflict. The Junāgaḍh inscription of the latter tells of his battles against the Yaudheyas in Sindh at some time not long before A.D. 150. This is the same general region where the Sui Vihār inscription was found, bearing a date of the year 11 of the reign of Kanishka.

The simplicity and apparent demonstrability of Ghirshman's theory belie the fact that it rests fundamentally upon a single and unproved assumption that Shāpūr I interrupted the Kushan reckoning at the year 98.

THE ARGUMENT FOR A.D. 110-115

I believe that Kanishka acceded to the throne sometime between the years 110 and 115. Support for this view has come (quite independently) from A. K. Narain of Benares Hindu University.⁹ Our arguments follow slightly different lines, but together they are as follows:

At some time after Kanishka's death, in about the twenty-third year of his era, a period of difficulties arose for the Kushans. Rudradāman's Junāgaḍh inscription indicates that the Yaudheyas had driven across the main line of Kushan communication from Peshāwar to Mathurā. At this same time appear the short-lived Vāsishka and the evanescent Kanishka of the Ārā inscription. There are marked peculiarities and barbarisms in Huvishka's coinage and evidence that the Kushan royal shrines at both

Māt and Surkh Kotal were allowed to fall into disrepair before a period in Huvishka's reign. I assume that by the forties of Kanishka's era, Huvishka's portrait was dedicated at Māt and the shrine refurbished. The Junāgaḍh inscription of A.D. 150 gives a rough chronological bench-mark for this assumption of a time of troubles for the Kushans.

The *Hou Han-shu* tells that between A.D. 107 and 113, the king of Kashgar sent his uncle and retainers to the (unnamed) king of the Yüeh-chih as hostages (see Chapter II). Hsüan-tsang tells a similar tale of hostages sent to Kanishka of Gandhāra from tribes west of the Yellow River. There are of course several fallible points in any attempt to link these two stories: other hostages than those of Kashgar could have been involved; there were several Kanishkas; Hsüan-tsang heard the story more than five hundred years after the events took place. Still, it is an argument to be taken seriously, particularly since Hsüan-tsang encountered the tale in two separate places (Kāpiśa and the Kashmir foothills) and since the later Kanishkas must not have enjoyed the same degree of power as Kanishka I.

Similarly, A. K. Narain maintains that there was only one short period in which the Kushans seem to have had a free hand in the Tarim basin: between Pan-chao's death (A.D. 102) and the restoration of Chinese influence about A.D. 127. The ruler to wield this power would most likely be Kanishka, if only through a process of elimination. Kujula and Vima were both known by name in the *Hou Han-shu*. Soter Megas, (whose coins have been found in Russian Turkestan in great numbers) belongs to the first century A.D. by virtue of the points of linkage between his coins and those of the Indo-Parthians and Sakas. Thus the choice lies between Kanishka and Huvishka; of the two; the former is the more likely.

Ludwig Bachhofer believes that the most convincing evidence of Kanishka's activities in Central Asia is that episode of A.D. 90 in which General Pan-chao thwarted the military operations of the Yüeh-chih Hsieh (=Shāhū?) near Kucha (see Chapter II).¹⁰ Bachhofer feels that this is reflected in the Buddhist legends of the death of Kanishka while trying to cross the Pamirs. It should, however, be pointed out that the Hsieh was clearly designated a viceroy, and that the two stories differ in fundamental content.

My argument is no more demonstrable than any of the others. As a working hypothesis it has been satisfactory, accounting for more facts and being contradicted by fewer than the others. Together with most students of the subject throughout the past sixty years, I eagerly await that piece of incontrovertible evidence which will come from the Kushanshahr or its neighbors and take the issue from the realm of speculation.

II. THE KANISHKA RELIQUARY

A SMALL BRONZE casket barely eight inches high bears the name of Kanishka in its inscription, and on its side has an image of a Kushan king holding lotus flowers (Figure 60).¹ It is a major element in Kushan studies because it has verified the traditions about the Kanishka Stūpa at Shāh-jī-ki-dhēri. Unfortunately, since its discovery by D. B. Spooner in 1908, it has also created almost as many problems as it has solved.

First, the inscription has presented difficulties in both reading and interpretation. Here is Konow's translation:² "In the year 1 of [the Mahārāja] Kanishka, in the town . . . ima, connected with the . . . mansion, this religious gift—may it be for the welfare and happiness of all beings—the slave Agisāla was the architect (navakarmia)—in Kanishka's Vihāra, in Mahāsena's Samghārama, in the acceptance of the Sarvāstivādin teacher."

The reading of the "year 1" is by no means certain;³ the first reading of the name Kanishka is possible. The usual interpretation of Agisāla as the name Agesilaos of a Greek artisan of the reliquary is contradicted by Burrow, who shows effectively that the word is the Kharoshthī equivalent of the common Pāli term *aggisālā*, meaning heated hall or refectory and found in variations in both Kharoshthī and Brāhmī (the latter at Sāñchī).⁴ Burrow reads the word as the title of the functionary who ordered the work on the Vihāra. It should also be pointed out that this is not an imperial dedication; it is like the majority of Mathurā inscriptions—a work which refers only to the epoch of a Kushan prince.

The casket is of crude and unaccomplished craftsmanship, and has little suavity or grace about it; but from this fact have been drawn such diverse conclusions as:

The Buddhist art of Gandhāra had already reached its decline by the time of Kanishka; thus his reign must have begun later than suspected, as late as A.D. 200.⁵

The work stands, not at the end, but at the beginning of the Gandhāra style. Kanishka saw the germinal phases of that tradition.⁶

The issue is further complicated by the fact that there are doubts as to which king is represented on the casket. This figure is clean-shaven, whereas both Kanishka I and Vima are portrayed as heavily bearded. Since none of the Kushan dynastic coins after Kanishka I bears a portrait of a bearded king, this could be an argument for identifying the reliquary figure with Kanishka III, who reigned a century after Kanishka I.⁷ Flanked by the Sun and Moon Gods, the man must have been important—a king or crown prince.

In recent years, qualified students have dated the reliquary anywhere between A.D. 78 and 325, and have fully documented their reasoning. Personally, I am in agreement with Sir John Marshall that if it is a Kanishka who is represented on the casket, he might be the Kanishka II of the Arā inscription of the year 41;⁸ if it was dated during the reign of Kanishka I, it would likely be the later phases. On comparative grounds, the work seems to belong to the second quarter-century of the Kanishka era.

THE FINDING OF THE RELIQUARY

The reliquary was found in a relic chamber two feet below the level of the brick pavement surrounding the stūpa. The chamber was a crude structure built of rough slate slabs near the junction of two of the radiating walls which formed the internal supports of the monument and framed two sides of the relic chamber.

The chamber was not set into the vertical axis of the hemisphere but was considerably off center, suggesting that it was not a foundation deposit but was added after the hemisphere had at least been begun with its inner skeleton already constructed. The Chinese pilgrims and the archaeological evidence leave no doubt that the stūpa was several times renovated after fires and other disasters. If the casket was not buried at the time of the original building of the structure (as seems likely), it may have been inserted at the time of one of the renovations.

THE COSTUME OF THE KING

If the royal figure on the side of the casket is a King Kanishka, it is probably not Kanishka I because of the absence of a beard. Moreover, the costume differs from that of Kanishka I on his coins: the mantle is fastened on the king's shoulder whereas on the coins, it is fastened at the chest; the headdress

is not found on Kanishka I's coins; the king seems to be wearing those peculiar sideburns which are a feature of the coin portraits of Huvishka (Coins 46, 47) and of two Kushan devotees carved on a pillar at Mathurā (Figure 21).

This costume style is not that found on the coins of Kanishka III (Coins 236-246) or the sculptures of that epoch (Figure 34)—neither in detail nor in figurative style. Kanishka III wears either an armored tunic or an elaborate jeweled topcoat with sharp angles at the bottom hem, as well as a pointed, jeweled helmet. On his coins, he is also shown with small feet, represented in a detailed, rather mincing manner.

The royal effigy on the reliquary has heavy boots and large feet standing akimbo. The style has a vigor which I feel belongs essentially to the reigns of Kanishka I and the early stages of that of Huvishka. The closest parallel in the dated Kushan period carvings is a pedestal of the year 29 of the reign of Huvishka at Mathurā (Figure 32). The closest parallel for the peculiar hem of the tunic is that in an Indo-Scythian portrait at Mathurā (Figure 13), dated in the year 42; and that for the shape of the crown is the one worn by a prince, who is also nimbate, on a Mathurā pillar figure which can be placed late in the reign of Huvishka (Figure 24). The ribbons which extend laterally from this crown are similar in effect to those on the Kanishka reliquary figure. The crown also closely resembles one worn by a small terracotta head found at Persepolis (Figure 131). The figures of the personified sun and moon flanking the king are closely reflected in a coin type of Huvishka in which those deities are shown standing together (Coins 113, 114); there are similarities in MAO's headdress, in MURO's radiant halo, and even in the treatment of the faces (see also Coins 102, 103, 118).

OTHER STYLISTIC AND SYMBOLIC DETAILS

The seated Buddhas atop the lid and on the sides seem to have their closest parallels in those on the small stūpa from Sikri, now in the Lahore Museum (see particularly Ingholt no. 96 for the covering of the hands in the dhyāni mudrā, the treatment of the lappet of cloth coming between the legs to the seat, the near symmetry of the garment folds over the torso). Similarly, the two figures—probably Indra and Brahma—flanking the seated Buddha on the casket lid have their closest parallels in the Sikri reliefs (Ingholt no. 129, the figure behind Pāñcika) or in some of the works from the former Guides' Mess Collection at Hoti Mardān (Ingholt no. 72). None of these analogies is precise; the reliquary figures are in each instance more squat and more crudely executed; but the indications are toward a relatively early rather than a late date for the reliquary.⁹

These points of comparison between the king's costume and dated Mathurā sculptures might, at first glance, seem further to support the argument

of Mirella Levi d'Ancona that the reliquary was made at Mathurā.¹⁰ I cannot entirely agree. The Buddha images are more closely comparable to Gandhāran forms; moreover, the Kushan costume style tends to be uniform throughout the empire but is simply better documented at Mathurā. Nonetheless, it is likely that the work was made by local craftsmen closer to native Indian traditions than to the highly Hellenized forms of Gandhāran art—closer, say, to the artisans of the Sikri stūpa at Lahore than to those of the Buner stair risers.

The reliquary is an amazing document of cultural synthesis, comprehensive in much the same way as the pantheon of Kanishka and Huvishka's coins. The image of the king flanked by the Sun and Moon Gods is a peculiarly Iranian concept, recalling the statement in Ammianus Marcellinus (XXIII.6, 4-6) that Shāpūr II was called "King of Kings, partner with the stars, brother of the sun and moon," a title which was used earlier by the Parthians and occasionally symbolized on their coins (for example, Coin 298).¹¹ This motif must belong to the ancient Near Eastern tradition of the sun and moon attending the triumphs of a great prince, as shown on the stele of Naram-sin in the Louvre.

Above the head of the king is a preëminently Indian motif: the frieze of flying geese, the haṃsa. Although symbolically the haṃsa had long association in Indian metaphysical literature as an emblem both for an embodied soul and for Brahmā as the supreme spirit (in later iconography, the haṃsa is the vāhana of Brahma), it was also a royal emblem in the Kushan period.¹² The Begram ivories included plaques with the haṃsa motif as a decoration of a royal seat;¹³ one of the fragments of the plaque belt of the supposed portrait of Huvishka shows a haṃsa (Text Figure 17); and this use of the motif is paralleled by a passage in the "Letter to King Kani[sh]ka" of Mātṛicēṭa: "As in a pellucid lake the white rājahamṣa is apprehensive of the water, make yourself easy of approach to the high, hard of approach to the low."¹⁴ There is also a passage in the *Kādambarī* of Bāṇa (writing in the seventh century) in which the term expresses the virtues of kingship: the kalahamṣa, an epithet of an excellent ruler.¹⁵ On the Kanishka reliquary, the haṃsa seems to be another instance in which an emblem which was basically a religious one had been appropriated to exalt a Kushan prince.

The erotes bearing garlands at either side of the king belong to an idiom of classical, Dionysian origin. Although it was particularly suited to the spirit of Indian symbols of vegetative fertility—creeping vines peopled by dwarfs, as are found at most of the important early Buddhist monuments—it is extraordinary to find two small Buddha images flanked by attendants or Bodhisattvas placed in the garland loops. The ensemble seems to express that tendency of Buddhist art to demonstrate that the fruits of the earth are linked with the Buddhist faith.

III. INSCRIPTIONS PERTAINING TO THE INDO-SCYTHIAN DYNASTIES AT MATHURA

IN THE OBSCURITIES of early Indian history, the dated Mathurā carvings of the Scythian period are a detailed record of the passage of time, the rise and fall of rulers, the changing of religious customs, the evolution of artistic standards.

The inscriptions are relatively dependable, having been studied by some of the most accomplished epigraphists and Indologists, notably Georg Bühler, Heinrich Lüders, R. D. Banerji, V. S. Agrawala, J. P. Vogel, Vincent Smith, Mrs. J. E. van Lohuizen, K. D. Bajpai, and Klaus Janert. Much of the material is accessible in the Mathurā Museum (along with a published catalogue) or in the Lucknow Museum (with a typescript catalogue of Banerji's).

The appended list contains only inscriptions originating in Mathurā or in its neighborhood (including Ahicchatra and Kauśāmbī, chiefly in Brāhmī script. It is possible to integrate with these a few Kharoshthī epigraphs from the northwest. Because these latter items are small in number and controversial in the interpretation of their dates, however, I have included the relevant ones in the body of the text but not here.

The Brāhmī inscriptions which have been listed by Heinrich Lüders are shown under the heading "Lüders' Lists." The number in regular type is that included in his "A List of Brāhmī Inscriptions from the Earliest Times to about A.D. 400 with Exception of Those of Asoka" (*Epigraphia Indica*, X [1909], pp. 1-226). The numbers in bold face type are included in his posthumous *Mathurā Inscriptions*, edited by Klaus Janert (1961).

PRE-KUSHAN INSCRIPTIONS

Date	Ruler and epithets	Subject	Location	Lüders' Lists	Partial bibliography
-	Rajula mahākshatrapa Kharaosta yuvarāja Muki śrīrāja Suḍasa kshatrapa Kusuluka Patika mahākshatrapa Mevaki Miyika kshatrapa Khardaa kshatrapa	Mathurā Lion Capital	British Mus.	-	Konow, CII, pp. 30 ff.
-	Son of Rājūvula mahākshatrapa svāmi (i.e. Soḍāsa).	Mōrā Well inscrip.	Mathurā Mus. #Q.1.	14 113	ASR XX, pp. 48 ff.; JRAS 1907, p. 1024; Agrawala, Cat. ⁴ p. 130; EI XXIV, pp. 194-200.
-	Soḍāsa svāmi mahākshatrapa	Jamālpur slab.	Lost	82 64	IA XXXIII, p. 149; EI IX, p. 246.
72	Soḍāsa svāmi mahākshatrapa N.b. Date read also as 42.	Āmohinī Āyagapaṭṭa Kaṅkāli Ṭilā	Lucknow Mus. #J.1.	59	EI II, p. 99; van Lohuizen, SPIH, p. 147; Rapson in Lan- man festschrift.
-	Soḍāsa svāmi mahākshatrapa	Decorated door jamb. Mōrā.	Mathurā Mus. #367.	- 115	Agrawala, Cat. ⁴ p. 135; EI XXIV, p. 208; MASI #5, pp. 169- 173.
-	Soḍāsa	Torāṇa lintel fragment.	Mathurā Mus. #3768.	-	Nil.
-	Ma . . . mahārāja mahāksha- trapa	Jaina image. Kaṅkāli Ṭilā.	Lucknow Mus.	83	-EI II, p. 199.
-	. . . kshatrapa	Bodhisattva image. Near Kaṭrā Ṭilā.	Mathurā Mus. #A.66.	1394 2	Agrawala, Cat. ⁴ , pp. 62, 64; ASIR, 1909-10, p. 66, fig. 2.

INSCRIPTIONS DATED IN THE ERA OF KANISHKA

Date	Ruler and epithets	Subject	Location	Lüders'	
				Lists	Partial bibliography
2	Kanishka mahārāja	Kausāmbī Bodhi- sattva.	Allahābād Mus. #Ac/2948.	-	EI XXIV, p. 211.
3	Kāṇishka mahārāja Kharapallāna mahākshatrapa Vanashpara kshatrapa (Kanishka)	"Bala" Bodhisattva. Sārvastī.	Sārnāth Mus.	925 926	EI VIII, pp. 173- 179; Vogel, SM, Pl. XXVIII: Bach- hofer, EIS, Pl. 79
-	mahārāja dēvaputra	"Bala" Bodhisattva. Sārvastī.	Indian Mus.	918 919	EI VIII, p. 180; EI IX, p. 291.
4	Kanishka mahārāja	Buddhist pedestal. Mathurā City.	Mathurā Mus. Unregistered.	-	-
5	Kāṇishka ... (deva)putra	Buddhist pedestal.	Mathurā Mus. #3533.	-	Bajpai, Shiksha, April, 1955, p. 136.
6?	Vema takshama mahārāja rājatirāja dēvaputra Kushāṇa- putra Shāhi	Vima portrait. Māt.	Mathurā Mus. #215.	- 98	Agrawala, Cat. ^a pp. 40-41; Vogel, ASIR, 1911-1912, 122 ff.; EI XXI, p. 59.
-	Kanishka mahārāja rājatirāja dēvaputra	Kanishka portrait. Māt.	Mathurā Mus. #213.	- 97	Agrawala, Cat. ^a pp. 39-40; Vogel, ASIR, 1911-12, 122 ff
-	Kanishka (ma)hārāja rājatirāja	Buddhist image. Jamālpur?	Lucknow Mus. #B.1.	79 26	ASR III, p. 31, #5; IA XXXIII, p. 149;
-	Kan(i)(sh)ka ...	Donatrix image? Mōrā.	Mathurā Mus. #E.20.	1357 114	SPIII, p. 79. Agrawala, Cat. ^a 47-48; EI XXIV, 7-9.
8	Kāṇikkha (sic) mahārāja rājatirāja (shāhi)	Nāgarāja relief. Rāl-Bhaḍār Tīlā.	Mathurā Mus. #211.	- 102	Agrawala, Cat. ^a 103; EI XVII, 10.
10 or 16	Kāṇishka mahārāja	Buddhist pedestal. Mathurā City.	Mathurā Mus. #2740.	- 157	Agrawala, Cat. ^a p. 45.
10	Kāṇishka mahārāja dēvaputra	Relief and dedica- tory inscription.	British Mus. #1897, 7-15, 53.	23 182	EI IX, pp. 239- 241.

INSCRIPTIONS DATED IN THE ERA OF KANISHKA

Date	Ruler and epithets	Subject	Location	Lüders' Lists	Partial bibliography
20	Kāṇishka mahārāja	Buddhist pedestal. Mathurā City.	Mathurā Mus. #1558	– 73	Agrawala, Cat. ¹ , pp. 43-44; JRAS 1924, pp. 399-400.
23	Kāṇishka mahārāja	Buddhist image. Sonkh Village.	Mathurā Mus. #1602.	– 136	JRAS 1924, p. 400; Agrawala, Cat. ¹ pp. 45-46.
24	Vāsishka mahārāja rājatirāja dēvaputra shāhi	Sacrificial post. Isāpur.	Mathurā Mus. #Q.13.	1417 94	Agrawala, Cat. ⁴ 136; JRAS 1910, p. 1311; Vogel, ASIR 1910-1911, 40- 48.
26		Stone slab. Jamālpur.	Lucknow Mus. #E.5.	85 27	EI I, p. 390
28	(Huvi)shka or (Vāsi)shka	Buddhist image. Jamālpur.	Mathurā Mus. #A.49.	33 28	Agrawala, Cat. 46; IA VI, p. 217; IA XXXIII, p. 38; JRAS 1903, p. 330; JRAS 1905, p. 354.
28	Huvishka dēvaputra shāhi	Puṇyaśālā inscrip. Chaurāsi area.	Mathurā Mus. #1913.	–	Agrawala, Cat. ⁴ p. 139; EI XXI, 55-61.
29	Huvishka mahārāja	Buddhist image. Girdharpur.	Mathurā Mus. #2879.	–	Nil.
29	(Huvi)shka mahārāja	Jaina image. Kaṅkāli Tīlā	Lucknow Mus. #J.14.	34	EI I, 385; JRAS 1903, p. 33.
29	Huksha (sic) mahārāja dēvaputra	Jaina image. Kaṅkāli Tīlā	Lucknow Mus.	35	EI II, 206; JRAS 1903, 352. IA XXXIII, 38.
31	Huvishka ...	Buddhist pedestal. Rāl-Bhaḍār Tīlā.	Mathurā Mus. #A.71.	1355 103	Agrawala, Cat. ⁴ p. 47; IA XXXIII, 38- 39.
32	–	Ahicchatra trinity.	National Mus. New Delhi.	–	Mitra, JASB (Letters), XXI (1955), pp. 63 ff.
33	Huvishka (sic) mahārāja dēvaputra	Buddhist image. Chaubārā Tīlā.	Lucknow Mus. #B.2.	38 24	IA VI, 217; IA XXXIII, 39; EI VIII, 181.

INSCRIPTIONS DATED IN THE ERA OF KANISHKA

Date	Ruler and epithets	Subject	Location	Lüders'	
				Lists	Partial bibliography
35	Huveshka (sic) mahārāja dēvaputra	Standing Bodhi- sattva. Lakhanu.	Mathurā Mus. #A.63.	1421	Agrawala, Cat. ¹ p. 47.
38	Huvishka mahārāja dēvaputra	Elephant capital. Kaṅkāli Tīlā.	Lost.	41	ASR II, 52; IA XXXIII, 40.
39	Huvishka ... devaputra	Bodhisattva trinity. Pālikherā.	Indian Mus. #Add. 4145.	- 126	Vogel, SM, Pl. XXVI.b, p. 106; EI XIX, p. 66.
40	Huvishka mahārāja rājatirāja	Standing Nāgarāja. Chargāon.	Mathurā Mus. #C.13.	1418 137	Agrawala, Cat. ¹ p. 98.
42	- N.b. Read also as 72.	Indo-Scythian por- trait statue.	Mathurā Mus. #E.25.	1365 107	Agrawala, Cat. ¹ p. 43. Luders, EI XXIV, p. 207.
-	Huvishka mahārāja rājatirāja devaputra	Portrait pedestal Māt.	Mathurā Mus. #215.A.	- 99	Agrawala, Cat. ¹ 132; JRAS 1924, 401.
44	Huvishka mahārāja	Jaina image. Kaṅkāli Tīlā.	Lost?	42	EI I, 387; EI II, 212.
45	Huveshka (sic) mahārāja dēvaputra	Buddhist image.	Bombay Univ.	43 180	JBBRAS XX, 269.
45	-	Jaina image. Kaṅkāli Tīlā.	Lucknow Mus. #J.17.	44	EI I, 387; van Lohuizen, SPIH, p. 272.
47	-	Pedestal of Jaina image. Kaṅkāli.	Lucknow Mus. #J.18.	45	ASR III, Pl. XIV, #10; EI I, 396.
48	Huveksha (sic) mahārāja	Jaina image. Kaṅkāli Tīlā.	Lucknow Mus. #J.19.	1366 14	ASR III, p. 34; IA XXXIII, p. 103; EI X, 112, Pl. III.
49	- N.b. Read also as samvat 79.	Jaina pedestal. Kaṅkāli Tīlā.	Lucknow Mus. #J.20.	47	EI II, 321; Smith, Jain Stupa, Pl. VI, p. 12; van Lohuizen, SPIH, 280 ff.; JUPHS, XXIV-XV, p. 219.

INSCRIPTIONS DATED IN THE ERA OF KANISHKA

Date	Ruler and epithets	Subject	Location	Lüders'	
				Lists	Partial bibliography
50	—	Jaina image. Kaṅkāli Tīlā.	Lucknow Mus. #J.21.	49	<i>EI II</i> , p. 203.
50	Huvishka mahārāja dēvaputra	Buddhist image.	Mathurā Mus. #B.29.	51	Growse, <i>Mathura</i> ?, p. 154. Agrawala, <i>Cat.</i> ?, p. 3.
51	Huvishka mahārāja dēvaputra	Buddhist image. Jamālpur.	Lucknow Mus. #B.3.	52 29	<i>JASB XLVIII</i> , p. 130; <i>EI X</i> , p. 112.
51	—	Buddhist image. Anyor.	Mathurā Mus. #A.65	1354 134	Agrawala, <i>Cat.</i> ¹ p. 48; van Lohuizen, <i>SPIH</i> , 188 ff.
52	—	Image of nāgārāja Dadhikarṇa. Bhū- teśvar.	Mathurā Mus. #C.21.	1367 12	Agrawala, <i>Cat.</i> ² p. 100; Vogel, <i>SM</i> , Pl. XLI; <i>ASIR</i> 1908- 1909, p. 161.
52	—	Lower part of standing female.	Lucknow Mus. #J.23.	53	<i>EI II</i> , 203; <i>IA</i> <i>XXXIII</i> , 104; van Lohuizen, <i>SPIH</i> , 288-290.
53	Huvishka mahārāja devaputra	Pedestal of Bud- dhist image. Naroli.	Mathurā Mus. #3622.	—	Rajpai, Shiksha, April 1955, 136-37.
54 57	or—	Seated image of Saraswatī. Kaṅ- kāli Tīlā.	Lucknow Mus. #J.24.	54	<i>EI I</i> , 391; Smith, <i>Jain Stupa</i> , p. 56, Pl. XCIX; van Lohuizen, <i>SPIH</i> , p. 286.
53	Huvaksha (<i>sic</i>) mahārāja	Jaina image. Kaṅkāli Tīlā.	Lucknow Mus. #J.25.	42	<i>EI II</i> , 212; <i>EI X</i> , 113-114.
N.b. This epigraph read originally as saṃvat 44; correction by R. D. Banerji.					
60	Huvashka mahārāja rājātirāja devaputra	Jaina image. Kaṅkāli Tīlā.	Lucknow Mus. #J.26.	56 15	<i>EI I</i> , 386; <i>IA</i> <i>XXXIII</i> , 105.
62	—	Jaina image. Kaṅkāli Tīlā.	Lucknow Mus. #J.27.	58	<i>EI II</i> , 204; <i>SPIH</i> , 297-299.
62	—	Jaina pedestal. Kaṅkāli Tīlā.	Mathurā Mus. #2907.	57	<i>ASR XX</i> , 37; <i>IA</i> <i>XXXIII</i> , 105; <i>SPIH</i> , fig. 52, pp. 290-297.

INSCRIPTIONS DATED IN THE ERA OF KANISHKA

Date	Ruler and epithets	Subject	Location	Lüders' Lists	Partial bibliography
64 or 67	Vāsudeva ... (deva)putra	Buddhist pedestal.	Mathurā Mus. #2907.	-	IHC 1941, pp. 163-164; EI XXX (1954), pp. 181-184.
74	Vāsu ... mahārāja rājatirāja devaputra Valāna mahādāṇḍanāyaka	Stone slab. Jamālpur.	Indian Museum.	60 30	EI I, 373; IA XXXIII, 106; EI IX, 241.
74	-	Pedestal of Jaina Sarvatobhāḍrika image, Ahic- chatra.	Lucknow Mus.	1369	EI X, p. 115. Pl VI; JRAS 1912, 108 ff.
77	-	Inscribed pillar bases from Jamāl- pur, from the vihāra of the Mahārāja rāja- tirāja devaputra Huvishka.	Mathurā Mus. Indian Mus.	61-66 132, 739 31-40	EI IX, 243 ff.
80	-	Jaina image. Kaṅkāli Ṭilā.	Lucknow Mus. #J.29.	-	-
80	Vāsudēva mahārāja	Jaina image. Kaṅkāli Ṭilā.	Lucknow Mus. #J.30.	66	EI I, 392; EI X, p. 116, Pl. VII.
82	-	Jaina image.	Mathurā Mus. #3208.	-	-
82	-	Jaina image. Kaṅkāli Ṭilā.	Lucknow Mus. #J.31.	31	EI I, 391; SPIH, 273-274.
	N.B. Lüders' List gives this as samvat 22.				
83	Vāsudēva mahārāja	Jaina image. Kaṅkāli Ṭilā.	Mathurā #B.2.	68	JRAS (n.s.) V, 184; ASR III, 34, #16; IA XXXIII, p. 107; Agrawala, Cat.* p. 5.
84	Vāsudēva mahārāja rājatirāja dēvaputra shāhi	Jaina image. Balabhadra Kuṇḍ.	Mathurā Mus. #B.4.	1373	Agrawala, Cat.* p. 6; Bachhofer, EIS, Pl. 101.
84	-	Jaina image. Kaṅkāli Ṭilā.	Mathurā Mus. #490.	-	EI XIX, 67; IA XXXVII, 33; Agrawala, Cat.* p. 4.

INSCRIPTIONS DATED IN THE ERA OF KANISHKA

Date	Ruler and epithets	Subject	Location	Lüders'	
				Lists	Partial bibliography
84	-	Jaina image.	Lucknow Mus.	-	-
86	-	Jaina image. Kaṅkāli Tīlā.	#J.53. Lucknow Mus. #J.32.	70	EI I, 388; India Antiqua, p. 197; SPIH, 242.
87	Vāsudēva mahārāja rājātirāja shāhi	Jaina image. Kaṅkāli Tīlā.	Lucknow Mus. or lost.	72	ASR III, 35; IA XXXIII, 108
87	-	Jaina image. Kaṅkāli Tīlā.	Lucknow Mus. #J. 33.	71	EI I, 388-9, SPIH, 299-300.
90	-	Jaina image. Kaṅkāli Tīlā.	Mathurā Mus. #B.5.	73	ASR III, 35; EI II, 205.
92	-	Inscription added to colossal Bodhi- sattva image from Maholi.	Mathurā Mus. #2798.	-	Agrawala, Cat. ¹ p. 77.
92	-	Pedestal of Jaina image. Mathurā City.	Mathurā Mus. #3223.	-	Nil.
93	-	Jaina image. Kaṅkāli Tīlā.	Lucknow Mus. #J.34.	74	EI II, 205, #23.
95	-	Āyāgapaṭṭa. Kaṅkāli Tīlā.	Lucknow Mus. #J.623.	75	Smith, Jain Stupa, p. 24; EI I, p. 392, #22; EI X, p. 117.
98	Vāsudēva rājā	Jaina image. Kaṅkāli Tīlā.	Lost?	76	ASR III, 35; IA XXXIII, 108.
98	-	Jaina image. Kaṅkāli Tīlā.	Lucknow Mus. #J.35.	77	EI II, 205; SPIH, fig. 49.
IMAGES DATED IN A SECOND KUSHAN ERA					
4	-	Jaina image. Kaṅkāli Tīlā.	Lucknow Mus. #J.3.	16	EI II, 201, #11; IA XXXIII, p. 33; SPIH, 264.
5	-	Jaina image. Kaṅkāli Tīlā.	Lucknow Mus. #J.4.	17	EI II, 201, #12; IA XXXIII, p. 33.
5	Kaṇishka ... dēvaputra	Jaina image. Kaṅkāli Tīlā.	Lucknow Mus. #J.5.	18	EI I, 381; IA XXXIII, 34.

IMAGES DATED IN A SECOND KUSHAN ERA

Date	Ruler and epithets	Subject	Location	Lüders'	
				Lists	Partial bibliography
5	-	Jaina image. Kaṅkāli Tīlā.	Mathurā Mus. #B.71.	19	ASR III, 30; IA XXXIII, 36; Agrawala, Cat. p. 2.
7	Kanishka mahārāja rājātirāja devaputra shāhi	Jaina image. Kaṅkāli Tīlā.	Lucknow Mus. #J.6.	21	EI I, 391, #19.
9	Kanishka mahārāja	Jaina image. Kaṅkāli Tīlā.	Lost?	22	ASR III, 131, Pl. XIII; IA XXXIII, 37, #6.
9	-	Jaina image. Kaṅkāli Tīlā.	Lucknow Mus. #J.7.	1363	EI X, 109; JRAS 1911, 1086; JRAS 1912, 157.
11	-	Image of Kārti- keyya. Kaṅkāli Tīlā.	Mathurā Mus. #2949.	-	JUPHS 1943, 65. 66.
12	-	Jaina image. Achicchatra?	Lucknow Mus. #J.86.	1364	EI X, 110. Pl. II. SPIH 237; JRAS 1911, 1084.
14	Kanishka mahārāja devaputra	Buddhist pedestal. Dalpat-kī-khirkī Mathurā City.	Patnā Mus.	- 81	EI XIX, 97; India Antiqua, 296-303; SPIH 303.
15	-	Jaina sarvato- bhāḍrika image. Kaṅkāli Tīlā.	Lucknow Mus. #J.230.	24	EI I, 382; SPIH 241-244; Smith, Jain Stūpa, p. 46; Pl. XCI.
16	-	Buddhist pedestal.	Patnā private collection.	-	JASB XIV (1948), 117- 120.
17	Kanishka devaputra shāhi	Jaina image. Kaṅkāli Tīlā?	Mathurā Mus. #3385.	-	Nil.
18	-	Jaina sarvato- bhāḍrika image. Kaṅkāli Tīlā.	Lucknow Mus.	25	EI II, 202.
18	-	Jaina image. Kaṅkāli Tīlā.	Lucknow Mus. #J.8.	26	EI II, 202, #14; IA XXXIII, p. 313; SPIH, 268-9.

IMAGES DATED IN A SECOND KUSHAN ERA

Date	Ruler and epithets	Subject	Location	Lüders'	
				Lists	Partial bibliography
19	—	Jaina image. Kaṅkāli Tīlā.	Lucknow Mus.	27	EI I, 382, #3.
20	—	Jaina image. Kaṅkāli Tīlā.	Lost?	28	EI I, 395.
20	—	Jaina image. Kaṅkāli Tīlā.	Lucknow Mus.?	29	EI I, 383.
22	—	Jaina image. Kaṅkāli Tīlā.	Lucknow Mus. #J.11.	30	ASR III, Pl. XIII, #7; EI I, 395; SPIH 272-3.
22	—	Seated Buddha. Mathurā City.	Mathurā Mus. #1557.	— 74	ASIR 1919-20, 41, Pl. 17a; SPIH 234-5; EI XIX, 65; Agrawala, Cat. ^a p. 44.
22	Vaskushāna rājño	Buddhist pedestal. Sāñchī.	Sanchi Mus. #A.83.	—	Marshall, Sanchi, Pl. 105c, p. 366; Sanchi Mus. Cat., Pl. XII, p. 30; SPIH, 313. Basham, BSOAS, XV (1953) 94, 97; Thomas, India Antiqua, p. 296.
25	—	Jaina pedestal. Kaṅkāli Tīlā.	Lucknow Mus. #J.12.	32	EI I, 384; IA XXXIII, 37.
28	Vāsashka (mahārāja) rājātirāja (deva) putra shāhi	Buddhist image. Sāñchī.	Sanchi Mus. #A.82.	161	Marshall, Sanchi, p. 385, Pl. 124b; Sanchi Mus. Cat., p. 30 EI IX, 244- 245; ASIR 1910-11, p. 42.
31	—	Jaina image. Kaṅkāli Tīlā.	Lucknow Mus. #J.15.	36	EI II 202, #11; SPIH 266.
33	—	Jaina image. Mathurā City.	Mathurā Mus. #1565.	—	Agrawala, Cat. ^a p. 2.
35	—	Jaina image. Kaṅkāli Tīlā.	Lucknow Mus. #J.16.	39	EI I, 385; SPIH 249-254.

IMAGES DATED IN A SECOND KUSHAN ERA

Date	Ruler and epithets	Subject	Location	Lüders' Lists	Partial bibliography
35	—	Jaina sarvato- bhāḍrika image. Kaṅkāli Tīlā.	Mathurā Mus. #B.70.	—	Agrawala, Cat.* 3; ASR III, p. 20, # 2; IA XXXIII, 36.
36	Yasaga rejhano	Buddhist image.	Private collection, Benares.	—	JBS, XXXVI, p. 52; JBS, XXXVII, 230- 232.
40	—	Jaina sarvato- bhāḍrika image. Kaṅkāli Tīlā?	Lucknow Mus. #J.234.	48	EI I, 387, #11; IA XXXIII 103, SPIH, 283.
57	—	Jaina image. Sitalaghā I	Mathurā Mus. #B.15.	55	Growse, Mathura ¹ , 128; ASR XX, 36; EI II, p. 212, #38; Agrawala, Cat.* 19; SPIH 254-259.

minor and late examples of this from Gandhāra. See Mizuno and Nagahiro, *Yün Kang*, Vol. VI, Pls. 60, 66; Vol. VII, Pls. 26 and 44; Foucher, *AGB*, Vol. II, fig. 373.

166. Beal trans. Vol. I, p. 45.

167. Beal trans. Vol. II, pp. 309-311; Thomas, *Tibetan Literary Texts and Documents Concerning Chinese Turkestan*, Vol. I, pp. 98-99, 309-310.

168. Trans. Rhys Davids, p. 189.

NOTES TO APPENDIX I

1. Saka 465 (*EI*, XXVII [1947], pp. 4 ff.), Saka 500 (*Indian Antiquary*, III, p. 305; Vol. X, p. 58).

2. A thorough outline of this position as of 1949 is made in van Lohuizen, *SPIH*, Chapter VII. For this, see Basham's review (*BSOAS*, XX [1957], pp. 72-88).

3. Konow, *Acta Orientalia*, II (1923), pp. 130 ff.; Marshall, *JRAS* 1947, pp. 29-32.

4. Konow and van Wijk, *Acta Orientalia*, III (1924), pp. 52-91; van Wijk, *Acta Orientalia*, V (1926), pp. 168-170.

5. Konow, *Acta Orientalia*, III (1924), p. 74.

6. First appeared in Ghirshman, *JA* (1943-45), pp. 59-71; was expanded in his *Begram, passim*; was defended in *Cahier d'histoire mondiale*, III (1957), pp. 689-721. It has been adopted by Deydier, *Contribution à l'étude de l'art du Candhāra*; Ingholt, *Gandhāran Art in Pakistan*; Bussagli, "Persistenze . . .," *op. cit.*

7. See Chapter IV, n. 39.

8. Contributions of Maricq and Tolstov at the London Conference, 1960.

9. Narain, London Conference, 1960.

10. Bachhofer, *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift*, n.f. IV (1927), pp. 40-42.

NOTES TO APPENDIX II

1. Spooner, *ASIR*, 1908-09, pp. 38-51, *ASIR*, 1909-10, pp. 135 ff.; Marshall, *JRAS*, 1909, pp. 105 ff.; Konow, *CII*, pp. 135 ff.; Tarn, *GBI*, pp. 355, 392; Burrow, *JGIS*, XI (1944), pp. 13-16; Foucher, *AGB*, Vol. II, p. 531; van Lohuizen, *SPIH*, pp. 98-106; Marshall, *JRAS*, 1947, p. 31; Buchthal, *Burlington Magazine*,

86 (1945), pp. 66, 69; Deydier, *Contribution*, p. 245; d'Ancona, *Art Bulletin*, 31 (1949), pp. 321-323; Rowland, *Art Bulletin*, 18 (1936), p. 391; Ingholt, no. 494; Majumdar, *Guide to the Sculptures in the Indian Museum*, Part II, p. 13.

2. Konow, *CII*, pp. 135 ff.

3. See Barrett, "Gandharan Bronzes," *Burlington Magazine*, 102 (1960), pp. 361-365. He reports that the casket has been cleaned, that the "inscription along the lower lip of the lid contains no date."

4. *Journal of the Greater India Society*, XI (1944), pp. 13-16. He observes that the term *Agisala* appears in other northern inscriptions (e.g., *MAI* no. 64, p. 60).

5. Van Lohuizen, *SPIH*, p. 99; also Ingholt, *Gandhāran Art*, p. 29, who dates it about A.D. 325.

6. Rowland places it in the early archaic phase of Gandhāran sculpture (*Art Bulletin*, 18 [1936], p. 391).

7. See Majumdar, *op. cit.*, p. 13. I agree with most of his observations, except that regarding the lotus seat.

8. Marshall, *JRAS*, 1947, pp. 30-31. Bussagli also takes this position in his contribution to the London Conference, 1960.

9. Buchthal, in comparing this work with Classical sources, gives it a date of A.D. 150, which is more or less my own estimate (*Burlington Magazine*, 86 [1945], pp. 66, 69).

10. *Art Bulletin*, 31 (1949), p. 321.

11. Ammianus Marcellinus, writing about A.D. 363, also described the Parthian kings as having been arrogant sovereigns who worshipped and honored the founder of their line, Arsaces, as a god and who protected his blood descendants.

12. At Taxila, a hollow crystal figure of a hamsa was used as part of a tribute for departed parents, being a receptacle for an inscription on a gold band (Konow, *CII*, p. 85).

13. Hackin et al., *Nouvelles recherches archéologiques à Begram*, figs. 638, 208.

14. Thomas, *Indian Antiquary*, 32 (1903), pp. 345-360, verse 36.

15. Bāṇa, *Kādambarī*, ed. p. 213; trans. Ridding, p. 79.

NOTES

ABBREVIATIONS USED IN NOTES

- Agrawala, Cat 1-4 Agrawala, V. S. "Catalogue of the Mathura Museum," *Journal of the United Provinces Historical Society*. Arranged by the following headings in separate issues.
1. "Buddha and Bodhisattva Images," XXI (1948), 42-98.
 2. "Images of Brahma, Vishnu, and Siva, etc.," XXII (1949), 102-212 (published also as separate pamphlet).
 3. "Jaina Tirthankaras and other Miscellaneous Figures," XXIII (1950), 35-147 (published also as separate pamphlet).
 4. "Architectural Pieces," XXIV (1951), 1-160.
- AJA *American Journal of Archaeology*.
- AO *Acta Orientalia*.
- Allan, BMC Anc. India Allan, John, *Catalogue of the Coins of Ancient India*. London: British Museum, 1936.
- Allan, BMC Guptas Allan, John. *Catalogue of the Coins of the Gupta Dynasties*. London: British Museum, 1914.
- ASIR *Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Reports*. First year, 1902-03.
- ASR *Archaeological Survey of India, Reports*. (Cunningham Series).
- ASWI *Archaeological Survey of Western India*. First vol., 1874.
- Bachhofer, EIS Bachhofer, Ludwig. *Early Indian Sculpture*. 2 vols. New York: Pegasus Press, 1929.
- BEFEO *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient*.
- BMQ *British Museum Quarterly*.
- BSOAS *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London*.
- CAH *Cambridge Ancient History*.
- CHI *Cambridge History of India* (in six vols.), Vol. I, *Ancient India* (ed. by E. J. Rapson). New York: Macmillan, 1922.
- CRAI *Comptes rendus ... à l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres*.
- Coomaraswamy, HIA Coomaraswamy, Ananda K. *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*. New York: Weyhe, 1927.
- DAFA *Délégation archéologique française en Afghanistan*.
- EI *Epigraphia Indica*.
- Fleet, CII Fleet, James F. *Inscriptions of the Early Gupta Kings and their Successors. Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. III. Calcutta, 1888.
- Foucher, AGB Foucher, Alfred. *L'art gréco-bouddhique du Gandhāra*. 2 vols. Paris: Leroux, 1905, 1922, 1951.

- Gardner, BMC Gardner, Percy. *The Coins of the Greek and Scythic Kings of Bactria and India in the British Museum*. London: British Museum, 1886.
- Hastings, ERE Hastings, James, ed. *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*. Edinburgh: Clark, 1908-15.
- IA *Indian Antiquary*.
- IHQ *Indian Historical Quarterly*.
- ILN *Illustrated London News*.
- Ingholt Ingholt, Harald. *Gandhāran Art in Pakistan*. New York: Pantheon Books, 1957.
- Lüders' List Lüders, H. "A list of Brāhmi inscriptions from the earliest times to about 400 A.D." Appendix to the *Epigraphia Indica*, X (1909), pp. 1-226.
- JA *Journal Asiatique*.
- JAOS *Journal of the American Oriental Society*.
- JASB *Journal (and Proceedings) of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*.
- JBBRAS *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*.
- JBORS *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*.
- JBRS *Journal of the Bihar Research Society*.
- JGIS *Journal of the Greater India Society*.
- JHS *Journal of Hellenic Studies*.
- JIH *Journal of Indian History*.
- JISOA *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*.
- JNSI *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*.
- JRAS *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*.
- JUPHS *Journal of the Uttar Pradesh (formerly United Provinces) Historical Society*.
- Konow, CII Konow, Sten, *Kharoshthi Inscriptions*. *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. II-1. Calcutta, 1929.
- London Conference Conference on the date of Kanishka, University of London, April, 1960.
- MASI *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India*.
- Mbh *Mahābhārata*.
- NC *Numismatic Chronicle*.
- NNM *Numismatic Notes and Monographs*. American Numismatic Society.
- NNM (NSI) *Numismatic Notes and Monographs*. Numismatic Society of India.
- OZ *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift*.
- PMC See Whitehead.
- Rapson, BMC *Catalogue of Coins of the Andhra Dynasty, the Western Kshatrapas*. . . London: British Museum, 1908.
- Raychaudhuri, PHAI Raychaudhuri, Hemchandra. *Political History of Ancient India*. 6th ed., Calcutta: University of Calcutta, 1953.
- RHR *Revue de l'histoire des religions*.
- SBB *Sacred Books of the Buddhists*.
- SBE *Sacred Books of the East*.
- SPA Pope, Arthur U. (ed.). *A Survey of Persian Art*. 7 vols and index. London: Oxford University Press, 1938-58.
- SPIH See van Lohuizen.
- Tarn, GBI Tarn, W. W. *The Greeks in Bactria and India*. 2d ed. Cambridge: University Press, 1951.
- van Lohuizen, SPIH van Lohuizen-de Leeuw, J. E. *The "Scythian" Period*. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1949.
- Vogel, SM Vogel, J. P. *La sculpture de Mathurā*. *Ars Asiatica*, Vol. XV. Paris, 1930.
- Whitehead, PMC Whitehead, R. B. *Catalogue of Coins in the Panjāb Museum, Lahore*. Vol. I, Indo-Greek Coins. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1914.
- Wroth, BMC Parthia Wroth, Warwick. *Catalogue of the Coins of Parthia*. London: British Museum, 1903.
- ZDMG *Zeitschrift der Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft*.

NOTES TO FOREWORD

1. Konow, *CII*, p. 165.
2. *A Study of History*, Vol. III, p. 146.
3. Two embassies visited Augustus, one in 26 B.C. and another in 20 B.C. See also *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*: Hadrian, 21:14; Sexti Aurelii Victorius, *Liber de Caesaribus*, 15.
4. Wheeler, *Rome beyond the Imperial Frontiers*, pp. 137-172.
5. *ASIR*, 1908-09, pp. 52-53.
6. Soper, "The Roman Style in Gandhāra," *AJA*, 55 (1951), p. 305.
7. "Multi, Roma, tuas laudes annalibus addebat, qui finem Bactra futura canent" (Propertius, II, 10, 15-16). "India quin, Auguste, tuo dat colla triumpho, et domus intactae te tremit Arabiae" (Propertius, II, 10, 15-16).
8. "Were I yet young, I would not rest till I too had reached the limits of the Macedonian conquest" (Cion, lxviii, 28, 4).
9. Roberts, "Greek Deities in the Buddhist Art of India," *Oriental Art*, n.s. V (1959), pp. 114-119.
10. Ingholt, no. 443, pp. 168-169; Rowland, "Rome and Gandhāra," *East and West* (IsMEO), IX (1958), pp. 199-200.
11. *ASR*, Vol. XVII, p. 109, Pl. XXX: Vogel, *SM*, pp. 52, 82, Pl. XLVIIb. Foucher (AGBG, II, p. 605) believes that the relief represents an adventure of Krishna in classical form.
12. A possible prototype is suggested in a Hercules in Avignon: K. Lehmann-Hartleben, "Bellerophon und der Reiterheilige," *Römische Mitteilungen*, XXXVIII, (1932-34), Fig. 4, p. 273. Cf. also S. Reinach, *Répertoire de la statuaire grecque et romaine*, II, 233, 2.
13. See *A Comprehensive History of India*, Vol. II, p. 383.
14. D. Schlumberger, *CRAI*, 1955, pp. 66-69.
15. For a summary of this problem, see *A Comprehensive History of India*, Vol. II, p. 791.
16. J. F. Garwood, "Ancient Mounds in the Quetta District," *JASB*, 56, 1887, p. 162, Pl. X; V. A. Smith, "Graeco-Roman Influence in India," *JASB*, 58, 1889, pp. 89, 141.
17. In this connection it may be appropriate to refer to the Hercules from Nigrai in the British Museum (Foucher, AGBG, II, Fig. 476). Although this bronze follows a Praxitelean model, a certain stiffness and the somewhat schematized handling of the anatomical structure are factors suggesting that this statuette may be a local representation of the Greek deity.
18. Vogel, *SM*, p. 82; Foucher, AGBG, II, p. 151; for further bibliography, see Vogel, *SM*, p. 52.
19. Foucher, AGBG, II, pp. 42, 151.
20. Vogel, *SM*, Pl. XLVIIa.
21. Cf. B. Rowland, "Gandhara, Rome, and Mathura," *Archives of the Chinese Art Society of America*, X (1956), Figs. 2, 4. A subject similar to the Mathurā carvings is represented in a Gandhāra panel at Lahore (Foucher, AGBG, I, Fig. 130). In this example, as in the relief at Calcutta, the Bacchic character is emphasized further by the crowns of ivy worn by the male figures.
22. Cf. a relief formerly in the Palazzo Mattei in *Münchener Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst*, N.F. Bd. X, 1-2 (1933), p. 117.
23. Cf. B. Rowland, "The Vine Scroll in Gandhāra," *Artibus Asiae*, XIX, (1956).
24. F. Cumont, *Recherches sur le symbolisme funéraire des romains*, p. 344.
25. V. S. Agrawala, "A New Bodhisattva and a Bacchanalian Group from Mathura," *JISOA*, VI (1938), p. 344.
26. Foucher, AGBG, I, Fig. 129.
27. Whitehead, *PMC*, Pl. XVII, 24; van Lohuizen, *SPIH*, p. 356. Whitehead (p. 173) identifies this issue as an "unmistakable imitation of one of the Roman Emperors"; van Lohuizen (p. 356) recognizes it as a likeness of Augustus. Another reflection of Augustan classicism in the Kushan realm is the portrait of Livia in the collection of plaster medallions found at Bégram, an object that is further useful in determining the date of the Bégram treasure in the first century A.D. Cf. A. Adalbert Voretzsch, "Ein römisches Porträt-Medallion in Afghanistan," *Römische Mitteilungen*, 64 (1957), pp. 1-45.
28. Van Lohuizen, *SPIH*, p. 356, strongly

suggests that the adoption of the standard weight of the Roman aureus by the Kushans, presumably under Wima Kadphises, must have taken place at a time before the depreciation of the Roman coinage under Nero to tally with the gold imported by Western merchants.

29. G. Kaschnitz-Weinberg, "Bildnisse Friedrichs II. von Hohenstaufen," *Römische Mitteilungen*, 62 (1955), pp. 1-52; E. Kantorowicz, *Frederick the Second*, pp. 225 ff.

30. D. B. Spooner, "Excavations at Sahrī-Bahlol," *ASIR*, 1909-10, p. 60, Pl. XXIIa.

31. Cf. L. Goldscheider, *Roman Portraits*, Pls. 1, 2, 3, 4, 17, 19.

32. K. Kluge and K. Lehmann-Hartleben, *Antike Grossbronzen*, III, Taf. XV.

33. *Ibid.*, II, p. 48, Abb. 3; p. 49, Abb. 4, 6; p. 50, Abb. 7, 8.

34. H. P. L'Orange, *Apotheosis in Ancient Portraiture*.

35. A close parallel may be found in the Buddha at Hashtnagar, which may perhaps be dated in A.D. 272. Cf. Bachhofer, *EIS*, Vol. I, Fig. 142.

36. Spooner, *op. cit.*, p. 61, Pl. XXIIa.

37. Ingholt, Pl. VII, 2. This image is dated in the second century A.D.

38. A relief from Sahrī-Bahlol shows a pair of donors seated to right and left of a Buddha, or Buddha statue (Ingholt, Fig. 101). The donatrice wears a costume approximating the dress of the "Princess" from the same site; her companion is bearded and is clad in a dhoti and a crown reminiscent of the headdress of Parthian royalty. The suggestion of actual portraiture is particularly notable in the male figure to the left.

39. Iyer, *Indian Art*, Pl. XII; 5000 Jahre Kunst aus Indien, Cat. no. 141, p. 367.

40. Cf. *JRAS*, 1894, p. 543; Foucher, *AGBG*, II, pp. 136, 608; Vogel, *SM*, pp. 51, 116, Pl. XLV.

41. Cf. Vogel, *SM*, p. 19.

42. The shattered Tosha image from Morā is possibly a posthumous portrait of a woman of Sodasa's time, carved in the reign of Kanishka I (Figure 52). See Chapter VI, above.

43. Foucher, *AGBG*, II, pp. 210-243.

44. L'Orange, *op. cit.*, p. 72, pp. 176 ff.

45. A. K. Coomaraswamy, "The Traditional Conception of Ideal Portraiture," *JISOA*, 7, 1939, p. 74. Among the statuettes of deified royalty referred to in this quotation are the likenesses of Krishna Deva Raya and his queens at Tirupati; cf. A. K. Coomaraswamy, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, Fig. 245.

NOTES TO INTRODUCTION

1. The name Indo-Scythian was used in ancient times as a generic term for the Kushans, Sakas, and their confederates in India. Ptolemy, writing about A.D. 140, called Indo-Scythia the country on both sides of the Indus River from its middle reaches (the Abhīra country) to the sea, including Minnagara in the Indus delta and extending to Barygaza, Ujjayinī, and Nāsik (*Geographia*, VII. 1). The *Periplus* (no. 38.41) uses the name Scythia for the coast of the Indus delta.

It should be noted that the term Scyth here has only the general meaning of Central Asian nomad rather than the more technical meaning of the term in scientific ethnology. Indeed, some scholars maintain that the so-called Indo-Scythians were actually closely related to the Sarmatians. See Bachhofer, *JAOS*, 61 (1941), pp. 248-249; Ghirshman, *Begram*, pp. 63-65; Maenchen Helfen, *JAOS*, 65 (1945), pp. 78-80.

2. Pargiter, *Purāṇa Text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age*, text p. 57, translation, p. 74. Material condensed and combined from the *Matsya*, *Vāyu*, and *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇas*. The most detailed account of the disruptions caused by foreigners in the Kali age appears in Chapter 24 of the *Vishṇu Purāṇa*.

3. See Panofsky, *Gothic Architecture and Scholasticism*, pp. 1-3, for the question of "periodizing" history and its attendant perils.

4. Schlumberger, *Syria*, XXXVII (1960), p. 164.

5. Pelliot, *T'oung Pao*, 1936, p. 358; quoted in this context by Maenchen-Helfen, *JAOS*, 65 (1945), p. 72.

6. For standard surveys of Kushan history, see Konow, *CII*, pp. xiii-xciv; Marshall, *Taxila*, pp. 11-78; Ghirshman, *Begram*, pp. 99-184;

J. N. Banerjia in *A Comprehensive History of India*, Vol. II, Chapters VII-IX.

7. A. D. H. Bivar, "The Kushano-Sasanian Episode," doctoral dissertation, Oxford University, 1956.

NOTES TO CHAPTER I

1. Konow, CII, p. 67. Von Stäel-Holstein proposed the theory that the national name was actually Kusha and that the -āna was a genitive suffix (*JRAS*, 1914, pp. 79-88). Maenchen-Helfen accepted this (*JAOS*, 65 [1945], pp. 74 ff). For a contrary opinion, see Fleet, *JRAS*, 1914, pp. 398 and 1091; Allan, *JRAS*, 1914, pp. 401 ff.

The name Kushan in antique inscriptions and coins is so varied that I have adopted here a purely conventionalized form. The most common spelling in Indian inscriptions has a lingual "n" preceded by a long "a" (kushāna).

2. Sprengling, *Third Century Iran*, pp. 7, 14.

3. The Chinese characters used for Yüeh-chih could easily be translated "Moon Clan," except that such characters were most often employed for their phonetic rather than strictly ideational values. See Konow, *Journal of Indian History*, XII (1933), pp. 146. Maenchen-Helfen indicates that Yüeh-chih may be a transcription of Kushan and that it does have lunar references (*JAOS*, 64 [1945], pp. 77-80, n. 110). Bussagli has collected numerous instances of lunar symbolism in the Indo-Iranian borderlands and affirms its peculiar association with the Kushans (*Annali Lateranensi*, XII [1949], pp. 349 ff).

4. *JA*, 1936, p. 62.

5. Bailey, H. W., *Transactions of the Philological Society*, 1952, p. 64; Pargiter, *Purāṇa Text*, pp. 45, 72; Bachhofer, *JAOS* 61 (1941), p. 245.

6. Maenchen-Helfen, *JAOS* 65 (1945), p. 72; Haloun, *ZDMG* 91 (1932), pp. 243 ff.

7. Konow, *JIH* XII (1933), p. 7; F. W. K. Muller, *SBAW* 1918, 566-586; Bailey, *Transactions of the Philological Society*, 1947, pp. 126-153; Henning, W. B., *Asia Major* I (1949), pp. 158-162; Krause, "Tokharisch" in B. Spuler (ed.) *Handbuch der Orientalistik*, vol. 4, Iranistik.

8. Cf. Maenchen-Helfen, *JAOS* 65 (1945), 71 ff.; however, E. J. Phillips identifies the Kushans with this later language (*AJA* 61 [1957], pp. 269 ff.).

9. See Chapter VII, notes 7, 9, 12, and 13.

10. For example, Zimmer, *The Art of Indian Asia*, Vol. I, p. 7.

11. Phillips, *AJA* 61 (1957), p. 270.

12. The most important sources of Chinese records concerning the Kushans can be summarized as follows: General Chang-ch'ien (active 140 B.C. until his death 114 B.C.). This fearless officer was sent westward primarily to secure the aid of the Yüeh-chih in defeating the Hsiung-nu, arch-enemies of the Chinese on their western border. He spent 13 years among these and other tribes and in 128 B.C. visited the Yüeh-chih. His reports were incorporated as Chapter 123 in the *Shih-chih* (*Historical Records*) begun by Ssu-ma T'an (died 110 B.C.) and completed by his son Sse-ma Ch'ien about 110-90 B.C. See Chavannes' translation of the *Shih-chih* as *Les Memoires historiques de Se-ma Ts'ien*; see also Hirth, *JAOS* 1917, pp. 89 ff.

The History of the Former Han (Ch'ien Han-shu) was compiled chiefly by Pan-ku (A.D. 32-92) around A.D. 80. Based on research done by his father Pan-piao, who died A.D. 54, it repeats parts of the western adventures of Chang-ch'ien. See A. Wylie, *Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, X (1881), XI (1882).

The History of the Later Han (Hou Han-shu) was not compiled until the fifth century by Fan-yeh (died A.D. 446). Much of the account of the western region, however, was based on a report by the General Pan-yung to the emperor made about A.D. 125 although some later information was added. This text also ventured to correct mistakes made by the Ch'ien Han-shu. Pan-yung's information was derived largely from the adventures of his father Pan-chao, who had been sent in A.D. 74 by the Emperor Hsien-tsong to pacify the tribes hostile to Chinese interests along the trade route through the Tarim basin and beyond the Pamirs. He wrote a memorial to the throne in A.D. 78 which is a priceless document of Chinese realpolitik (*Hou Han-shu* 77.4a). He remained active until about 100,

when he returned to China. His son was in the region from 124-127 but seems not to have had close contact with the Kushans. Pan-ch'ao had the most intimate knowledge of the Kusans of any identifiable source, yet the information coming from him or his son is vague regarding contemporary events outside the Tarim basin; only the treatment of the rise of Kujula and Vima deals specifically with events at the heart of the Kushanshahr. See Chavannes, *T'oung Pao*, VIII (1907), pp. 149-243; also in *T'oung Pao*, VII (1906), pp. 210-269.

Memoirs of the Three Kingdoms (*San Kuo-chih*) contains the histories of three post-Han states, that of Wei (220-268), Shu-han (221-263), and Wu (222-280), compiled by Ch'en-shou (A.D. 233-297). Of these, the *Wei-chih* contains two important references to the Yüeh-chih. See Chavannes, *T'oung Pao*, V (1904), pp. 489 ff.; Frankel, *Catalogue of Translations*, p. 11.

The Summary of Wei (*Wei-lüeh*) was composed between A.D. 239 and 265 by Yu-huan. The original text has been lost, but sections are quoted in P'ei Sung-chih's commentary on the *San Kuo-chih*, published in A.D. 429. See Chavannes, *T'oung Pao*, VI (1905), pp. 519-571; Levi, *JA*, 1897, pp. 14-20, and also *JA*, 1900, pp. 451-468.

Much of the above survey was adapted from the papers of Zürcher and Pulleybank offered to the London Seminar, April, 1960; Narain, *The Indo-Greeks*, Chapter VI; Konow, *IHQ*, XII (1933), pp. 1-46, with contributions by Karlgren.

13. This crucial problem has a large bibliography. Luciano Petech concluded that in the *Hou Han-shu*, the term Ki-pin referred to the region of the northwest frontier of India then dominated by Greeks, Sakas, Parthians, and Kushans. Following Kanishka, Ki-pin referred also to Kashmir. In Chinese Buddhist texts, it meant virtually all the Indian dominions of the Kushans, including Kashmir. (*Northern India according to Shih-chin-chu*, pp. 63 ff.).

14. Narain, *Indo-Greeks*, p. 135, with further references.

15. *Ch'ien Han-shu* 96B.1b; Narain, *op. cit.*, p. 133; Maenchen-Helfen dates it ca. 133-129

B.C. (*JAOS* 65 [1945], p. 71).

16. Marquart differs, saying that the occupation probably occurred between the time of the completion of the *Shih-chi* (about 91 B.C.) and the end of the former Han Dynasty in A.D. 24 (*Erānshahr*, p. 203). I might also point out that as late as 115 B.C. Chang-ch'ien distinguished between the Yüeh-chih and Ta-hsia (i.e., Bactria) as separate political entities (Hirth, *JAOS* 1917, p. 96).

This concept of Yüeh-chih history has been contradicted by S. P. Tolstov, who maintained that the Yüeh-chih were of the Massagetae nomadic confederation, as reported by Strabo, Herodotus, and Ammianus Marcellinus, and that they had historical connections with the nomads of Thrace. After they had been long settled in the Khwārezm area near the lower reaches of the Oxus they destroyed Greek power in Bactria and founded the core of the Kushan Empire. Among them developed the heavy armored cavalry and riders of the Sarmatians and Parthians (the cataphracts). See Chirshman, *Artibus Asiae*, XVI (1953), pp. 210-211.

17. Bailey, *Transactions of the Philological Society*, 1947, pp. 126 ff.

18. *Ch'ien Han-shu* 96A.14b; *Hou Han-shu* 118. However, other sources say that the population of Ta-hsia (i.e., Bactria) was in excess of one million persons (*Shih-chi*, Bk. 123). It is possible that the *Hou Han-shu* figure is restricted to the Yüeh-chih whereas the *Shih-chi* lists the combined populations of the Yüeh-chih and the people who dwelled in Ta-hsia at their coming. The *Ch'ien Han-shu* lists the names of the five principalities and their identities are uncertain although Marquardt attempted to locate them (*Erānshahr*, pp. 242-248): Hsiu-mi (its capital at Ho-mo) possibly Wakhan; Shuang-mi (its capital Shuang-mi) possibly Chitral; Kuei-shuang (its capital Hutsao) an area northwest of Gandhāra; Hsi-tun (capital at Po Mao) possibly Parwan on the Panjshir; Kao-fu (capital also Kao-fu) probably Kabul, but this last entry regarding Kao-fu is contradicted by the *Hou Han-shu*. See note 23 below.

19. Chirshman held that *Lan-shi* was in Badakshān and that the Yüeh-chih ruled only

the eastern part of Bactria, a point which seems quite reasonable (Begram, pp. 112-113).

20. *Hou Han-shu* 118.9a.

21. Pelliot, *JA* 1914, 401; Marquart, *Erānshahr*, p. 208. The equation is ch'iu-chiu = Kujula, chuch = Kara; Bailey, *BSOAS*, XIII (1950), pp. 396-397.

22. Most cogently done by Jenkins, *JNSI*, XVII (1955); Thomas, *JRAS*, 1906, p. 194; Rapson, *CHI*, p. 561. For the opinion that they ruled jointly, see Bachhofer, *JAOS*, 61 (1941), p. 24; Tarn, *GBI*, pp. 426, 497; van Lohuizen, *SPIH*, p. 363; Ghirshman, *Begram*, pp. 123-124; Simonetta, *East and West (IsMEO)*, IX (1958), pp. 154-173.

23. Konow, *JIII*, XII (1933), pp. 298-301 (Karlgrén's translation). In support of the claim that the Arsacids did indeed hold the Kabul valley in this period, see Justin, xli.6.3., from Trogus Pompeius (Tarn, *GBI*, pp. 472-473).

24. Altekar, *JNSI*, IX (1947), p. 6 ff.; Jenkins, *JNSI*, XVII (1955), p. 22.

25. Jenkins, *JNSI*, XVII (1955), p. 21; Bivar, *JNSI*, XVI (1954).

26. The differences in the spelling of this Greek legend and that of Type I caused scholars to suggest that the coins may have been issued by two different kings (Cunningham, *NC* 1892, pp. 46-47; Whitehead, *PMC*, p. 173). These differences do not seem to warrant another individual king; the differences in Greek orthography are not so great as are the differences between Greek and Kharoshthī texts on the same coins. In addition, the Chinese histories which are explicit on this phase of Kushan history do not suggest the existence of two Kujulas.

27. Allan, *Shorter Cambridge History of India*, p. 74; the coin which he cites as a prototype is *BMC Roman Empire*, Vol. I, Pl. XXXII.4. Gardner holds that the prototype was a coin of Augustus (*BMC*, p. xlix). For others with this view, see Smith, *JRAS*, 1903, p. 30, n.1; Göbl, *JNSI*, XXII (1960), pp. 80-81.

28. David MacDowall, *London Seminar*, April, 1960.

29. Augustus is shown seated profile in a curule receiving a child from the hands of a nude barbarian in a coin type minted at Lugdunum (Lyons) in 8 B.C. (*BMC Rom. Rep.*,

III, Pl. XII.17); on a coin of 15-12 B.C., he is shown thus receiving an olive branch (*op. cit.*, Vol. I, Pl. X.15-19). An iron curule chair was found at Taxila (Marshall, *Taxila*, Pl. 170, no. 54). Also, the peculiar circular symbol in the reverse field (mon. 1) links this coin type of Kujula with those of Azes II which bear the same motif of the seated prince.

30. *PMC* VII.576 (Philoxenos); *PMC* 577 (Antimachus); *PMC* 610, 614-617 (Hippostratos).

31. These royal portraits have been mistakenly called Buddha images; Coomaraswamy, *Art Bulletin*, IX (1927), pp. 302, 323; Longworth Dames, *JRAS*, 1914, pp. 793 ff.; Bachhofer, *JAOS*, 61 (1941), pp. 229-30; van Lohuizen, *SPIH*, 97-98.

Tarn, in particular, turned this into an issue of some importance by insisting that the figure on the reverse of Maues' coins is the Buddha, that the "line across his knees" is not a sword but a throne back. He feels that it could not have been a sword, for Scythians used bows and spears, and that no mint master (if he were a Greek) would have put the portrait of a king on the reverse of his own coins (*GBI*, pp. 399 ff.). A. S. Altekar has supported this view (*JNSI*, XIV [1952], pp. 52-53).

I believe that these reverse images are royal portraits. The pose is a common one in Iranian royal imagery of Sasanian and later times; the specimen of Azes I illustrated here (Coin 271) clearly shows the prince's hand resting on the sword or mace in his lap; he is wearing a heavy jacket; his feet rest beneath his hips and are not crossed above them, as is demanded by the Buddhist meditative pose, the padmāsana (Text Figure 24).

32. Whitehead expresses doubt that this is a royal portrait (*PMC*, p. 173). He is not consistent, however, for in the catalogue proper he describes the type as "enthroned king" (*PMC*, p. 181).

33. Marshall, *Taxila*, pp. 785, 840.

34. Banerjea, *JNSI*, IX (1947), pp. 78-81.

35. Cf. Narain, *Indo-Greeks*, p. 65.

36. Cunningham, *NC*, 1892, Pl. XIV.5,6, p. 46.

37. Ghirshman, *Begram*, pp. 95-97.

38. Wroth, *BMC Parthia*, p. 131.
39. Konow, *CII*, p. 57. This is basic evidence that two eras were in existence in the same town at the same time: a regnal reckoning and an older political or cultural one.
40. For its appearance in a much later monument, see Chapter IV and Agrawala, *JBFS*, XXXVII (1952), pp. 1-3.
41. Konow, *CII*, pp. 67-70.
42. *Ibid.*, pp. 70-77; van Lohuizen, *SPIH*, pp. 361 ff.
43. Their coins are in Whitehead, *PMC*, pp. 163-166, Pl. XVI; Gardner, *BMC*, pp. xlvii-xlviii, 119, Pl. XXIV; see also Ghirshman, *Begram*, pp. 109-111; Tam, *GBI*, pp. 505-507. Note that most of these coins come from the Bactrian region. Cunningham, *NC*, VIII (1888), pp. 47-58.
44. Another interesting type was influenced by the West, namely the half-horse reverse motif which was taken from the coins of the Seleucid kings of Syria (Gardner, *BMC*, p. xlviii, Pl. XXIV.12-13).
45. Konow, *CII*, pp. lxvi-lxviii. Two recent translations of the passage both render it as "Destroyed T'ien-chu" (Enoki Kazuo for Narain, *Indo-Greeks*, p. 131; and Zürcher's paper for the London Seminar).
46. Kennedy, *JRAS*, 1913, p. 927; Bachhofer, *JAOS*, 61 (1941), p. 250; Konow strongly insisted upon the Saka-Kushan kinship (*JIH*, XII [1933], pp. 34-5).
47. The relationship of Soter Megas to Vima is established by the common use of the epithet "Soter Megas," its only occurrence at this period. The monogram on Soter Megas' coins (Text Figure 7, no. 2) is different from the semi-alphabetic monograms of the Indo-Greeks and Sakas and closer to those of the early Kushans (nos. 4, 5, 7). The relationship of Soter Megas' coins to those of the Indo-Sakas is established in part by the motif of the equestrian king and also by a reverse type of Zeus standing to the right. There are said to be Soter Megas coins overstruck by Pacores, a follower of Gondophares; Simonetta, *East and West* (IsMEO), VIII (1957), p. 44. The costume worn by the equestrian prince on the obverse is a distinctly Indo-Scythian type, especially with the forward pointing hat similar to a Phrygian type (Coin 14, Figure 58).
48. Ghirshman, *Mélanges Massignon*, Vol. II; also in *Cahiers d'histoire mondiale*, III (1957), p. 639 ff.
49. It seems unreasonable to come to so momentous a conclusion on the primary grounds of a unique and barbarous coin.
50. David W. MacDowall, London Seminar, 1960.
51. Konow, *CII*, pp. 79 ff. The site is remote, the epigraph imperfectly studied; Konow's reading was vigorously attacked by Rapson (*JRAS*, 1930, p. 191), who denied that Vima's name could be read there and said that it was a record of a local mountain king. Recent scholarship tends to recognize this as a document of Vima's reign; see Basham, *BSOAS*, XX (1957), pp. 83-84.
52. Above, n. 41. J. N. Banerjee also ascribes to Vima the reference in the Taxila Silver Scroll (see n. 42, above), dated in the year 136 of a Mahārāja rājadirāja devāputra Kuṣaṇa (*JNSI*, IX [1946], p. 80).
53. Basham, *BSOAS*, XX (1957), pp. 83-84.
54. Greco-Bactrian kings issuing gold were: Diodotos (?); Euthydemus I, Eukratides I, who minted a unique twenty-stater medallion, the largest gold coin of antiquity; and possibly Menander. See Narain, *Indo-Greeks*, p. 62.
55. There is a unique small gold coin weighing only 3.4 grains in the Punjab Museum, Lahore, bearing the Kharoshthi legend Athamasa; it is similar in type to the issues of Azes and Azilises (Whitehead, *PMC*, p. 145, Pl. XIV.399). For forgeries, see Altekar, *JNSI*, XIV (1952), pp. 34-41. In the British Museum is a unique silver drachm of Vima, probably a mint proof or pattern; Gardner, *BMC*, Pl. XXV.11; Narain, *JNSI*, XXII (1960), p. 99.
56. R. Göbl, "Die Münzprägung der Kuṣan, von Vima Kadphises bis Bahram IV," in Altheim, *Finanzgeschichte der spätantike*, p. 174.
57. Cunningham, *NC*, 1888, pp. 218-221. The problems of the metrology of Kushan coins are reviewed by J. N. Banerjee in *A Comprehensive History of India*, Vol. II, pp. 792-796; by MacDowall, *JNSI*, XXII (1960), pp. 66 ff.
58. E.g., Rapson, *Sources of Indian History*:

Coins, p. 18. Ghirshman, *Cahiers d'histoire mondiale*, III (1957), p. 712. Monneret de Villard, *Orientalia*, XVII (1948); Dikshit, *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, XXXIV (1953), p. 91.

59. Grueber, *BMC Rom. Rep.*, Vol. I, chart on Pl. lx.

60. Mattingly, *BMC Rom. Emp.* Vol. I, p. xliv.

61. Dikshit, *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, XXXIV (1953), p. 87; Maity, *JNSI*, XX (1958), pp. 162 ff.

62. Cunningham, *NC*, 1888, pp. 216-221.

63. These conclusions are generally sustained by the recent metrological study of MacDowall (*JNSI*, XXII [1960], pp. 62-74).

64. Kennedy, *JRAS*, 1912. Note that the upper valley of the Oxus in Wakhan is also said to yield some gold in the stream beds. Le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 437.

65. *Natural History* xii.41.19. Of the grand sum, India's share was probably more than one-half. Warmington interprets this as being not merely the amount of trade but rather the amount of Rome's deficit in a much larger volume of commerce. (*The Commerce between the Roman Empire and India*, pp. 272 ff.)

66. Wheeler, *Rome beyond the Imperial Frontiers*, pp. 170-172.

67. MacDowall, London Seminar, 1960.

68. Warmington, *The Commerce between the Roman Empire and India*, p. 284.

69. *Ibid.*, pp. 6-34 and *passim*; Wheeler, *op. cit.*, pp. 140 ff.

70. Wheeler, *op. cit.*, pp. 173-182; Warmington devotes a full chapter to this, *op. cit.*, pp. 272-322; Robert Sewell, *JRAS*, 1904, pp. 591 ff.

71. Warmington, *op. cit.*, p. 290.

72. Wheeler, *op. cit.*, pp. 168-170.

73. Wilson, *Ariana Antiqua*, p. 354.

74. Dikshit, *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, XXXIV (1953), p. 84. Cf. Allan, *British Museum Quarterly*, VIII (1933), p. 73.

75. Göbl (*JNSI*, XXII [1960], pp. 81-82) feels that it may have been inspired by a posthumous aureus of Trajan issued by Hadrian (A.D. 117). The two coins are, however, not

closely comparable in formal qualities.

76. Göbl, "Münzprägung . . .," *op. cit.*, p. 176.

77. See the manuscript of the *Shāh-Jehān-nāme*, Windsor Castle Library, folio 115 verso.

78. Henning, *Asia Major*, n.s. II (1952), pp. 158 ff.; Stein, *Old Routes of Western Iran*, fig. 35. For Bisutūn, see Herzfeld, *Am Tor von Asien*. Also B. N. Mukherjee has identified the same motif on the reverses of the coins of the Parthian prince Gotarzes I (A.D. 40/41-50), a motif not unlike this one of Vima (*JNSI*, XXII [1960], pp. 109-112; Wroth, *BMC*, Pl. XXIX. 9, 10).

NOTES TO CHAPTER II

1. Frederick Growse. *Mathura, a District Memoir*, p. 110.

2. Konow, *CII*, p. lxxv; Smith, *EHJ*, pp. 239-240. This extraordinary absence of Kanishka's name from the Chinese dynastic annals has never been satisfactorily explained.

3. H. W. Bailey, London Conference, 1960.

4. Beal trans., Vol. I, pp. 62-66; Watters, *On Yuan Chwang . . .*, pp. 127-128.

5. Lévi, *JA*, 1936, pp. 98-99; Lévi, *T'oung Pao*, XIII (1912), pp. 307-309; Pelliot, *T'oung Pao*, XIII (1912), pp. 351 ff.

6. Lévi, *JA*, 1936, pp. 98-99.

7. Alberuni, XLIX; Sachau trans. Vol. II, pp. 11-13.

8. Coomaraswamy, *HIIA*, p. 52.

9. Bailey, London Seminar, ref *Türkische Turfan-Texte* IV, p. 4.

10. See Göbl, "Münzprägung . . .," *op. cit.*, p. 191.

11. *Tsa pao-tsang ching*, probably the *Samyukta-ratna piṭaka sūtra* (Nanjio no. 1329), translated into Chinese by Chi-chia-yeh (?Kṛṣṇakārya) and T'an-yao about A.D. 470 (Lévi, *JA*, 1896 II, pp. 469 ff.; Zürcher, London Conference, 1960. Note that in another story in this same text, the monk Chih-yeh-to purged a Kashmir lake of an evil Nāgarāja).

12. *Ta-ch'eng-chuang-yen ching-lun*, which was once thought to be the *Mahāyāna Sūtrālamkāra* of Aśvaghosha, contemporary of Kanishka (see Lévi, *JA*, 1886 II, 452-457, also *JA*, 1908

II, pp. 57 ff.; *Sūtrālaṃkāra* translated by Ed. Huber). On the basis of fragments recovered in Central Asia, however, the name of this text has been changed to the *Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā* or *Kalpanālaṃkāritikā*, written by Kumāralāta, who lived slightly later than Āśvaghoṣa; it was translated into Chinese by Kumārajīva in the early fifth century A.D. (Zürcher, London Conference, 1960; B. C. Law, *Āśvaghoṣa*). Another version of this tale appears in the *Fu fa-tsang yin yüan chuan* (*Sīdharmapiṭaka nidāna sūtra*), in which Kanishka finds a great treasure buried in the ground, presumably as a supernatural reward for his beneficence.

13. This passage about the tortoise and other elements in Devadharma's eulogy appear in a number of Buddhist Sanskrit texts of this period, including the "One Hundred and Five Stanzas in Praise of the Buddha" by Mātrīceta (cf. BSOAS, XIII [1950], pp. 670-701), the *Lotus Sūtra*, and others. See Huber, *op. cit.*, pp. 82-83.

14. Hsüan-tsang; Beal trans. Vol. I, pp. 156 ff.

15. Takakasu, *T'oung Pao*, 1904, pp. 269 ff.

16. *JA*, 1897 II, p. 528. Eliot, *Hinduism and Buddhism*, Vol. II, pp. 76 ff.

17. *Rājatarāṅgīnī* I.168-173; Stein trans. I, 30-31; Lamotte, *L'enseignement de Vimalakīrti*, p. 72.

18. Lévi, *JA*, 1896 II, pp. 449 ff. That he was taken not from Pāṭaliputra but from Śāketa and was the sole goal of the invasion, see *JA*, 1908 II, p. 82.

19. Cf. B. C. Law, *Āśvaghoṣa*, p. 3; Anesaki in Hastings, *ERE*, Vol. II, pp. 159-160; Lévi, *JA*, 1908 II, pp. 57 ff.; Lévi, *JA*, 1928, pp. 193 ff.

20. Foucher, *AGB*, Vol. I, pp. 343-346; Vogel, *SM*, Pl. XVIc, Mathurā Museum no. 186; Agrawala, *Cat.*, p. 33; also Lucknow Museum no. J.532, 533, door jambs from Mathurā illustrating the Saundarananda theme; see also Ingholt no. 94. Text and translations of the *Saundaranandakāvya*, see E. H. Johnson, Panjab University Publication no. 14.

21. Huber trans., pp. 150-163. It has been assumed that this was the Jaina stūpa at Mathurā, remains of which were excavated at the Kaṅkāli Tīlā, probably the most important Jaina monu-

ment in the Kushan Empire (Smith, *The Jain Stūpa* . . . ; Bühler, *Sitzungsberichte der Kaiserliche Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien* [Phil. Hist. Klasse], LXXXVII [1897], pp. 1-14).

22. Lévi, *T'oung Pao*, XIII (1912), pp. 307-309.

23. Thomas, *Indian Antiquary*, 32 (1903), pp. 345-360; Shackleton Bailey, introduction to his translation of the *Sātapañcāsātka* of Mātrīceta; Bailey, BSOAS, XIII (1950), p. 670. For the letter of Nāgārjuna to King "Sadvaha," see Beal, *Suh-ki-lih-liu; the Suhrillekha* or "Friendly Letter."

24. Thomas, *Indian Antiquary*, 32 (1903), śloka 49 and 83, pp. 356, 380.

25. Reviewed by Warder and Wilhelm at the London Conference, 1960.

26. Soper, *Literary Evidence for Early Buddhist Art in China*, pp. 112, 132.

27. Alberuni, XLIX; trans. Sachau, Vol. II, pp. 10-13. As late as the Pāla period, monks were being trained there; see the Chośravan praśasti (Banerji, JBORS [1948], pp. 111-116).

28. Trans. Beal, Vol. I, pp. 98-109; for Sung-yun, see Beal, pp. ciii-cvi; Fa-hsien, p. xxxii.

29. Beal trans., Vol. I, pp. 101-105. In Sung-yun's report, the smaller stūpa moved itself four hundred feet away from the new one, which rose thirteen stories to seven hundred feet in height (including an iron pillar at the top with thirteen circlets). Beal trans, Vol. I, p. civ.

30. Bailey, *JRAS*, 1942, pp. 19-21.

31. Lévi, *JA*, 1896 II, pp. 446-447. The *Samyukta-ratna-piṭaka*, tale 13.

32. Beal trans., Vol. I, pp. 101-108.

33. *ASIR*, 1908-09, p. 32, n. 2.

34. *ASIR*, 1908-09, pp. 58-59; *ASIR*, 1910-11, pp. 25-32.

35. Mohrā Morādu, see Marshall, *Taxila*, Pl. 95.b; for a model from Jauliān, see Rowland, *Art and Architecture of India*, Pl. 41.b. It has also been noticed that the ground plan of the Kanishka stūpa resembles the giant one at Top-e-Rustam at Balkh (Foucher, *La vieille route* . . . , Figs. 22, 24; Hackin, *L'oeuvre de la Délégation archéologique française en Afghanistan*, fig. 59, a and b; Takata, Osamu, *Bijutsu Kenkyu*, 181 [1955], pp. 1-24.).

36. Lévi, JA, 1896, pp. 480-483. For Caraka, see n. 43 below.
37. Beal trans., Vol. I, pp. 56 ff.
38. Beal trans., Vol. I, p. 173.
39. Trans. Chavannes, T'oung Pao, 1906, p. 232. Cf. Feng Tch'eng-kuin, *Bulletin du centre franco-chinois d'études sinologiques*, I (1944), no. 3, where the author concludes that the hostages were probably not Chinese but Central Asians and that this helps date Kanishka's accession between A.D. 87 and 120. See also Marquart, *Erānsahr*, p. 284.
40. Meunié, JA, 1943-45, pp. 151-162.
41. Lévi, JA, 1896, pp. 447, 472.
42. *Ibid.*, p. 480. As the Tsa-pao-tsang-ching, it was translated into Chinese by Chi-chia-yeh (?Kimkārya) and T'an Yao about A.D. 470.
43. If there is any historical basis for this information, Kanishka had a most impressive entourage. Aśvaghosha's importance has already been discussed. Caraka, the physician, is one of two authors whose compilations of ancient medical lore lie at the root of Ayurvedic practices—the *Carakasamhitā* and the *Sūśrutasaṃhitā*. Cf. Filliozat, *La doctrine classique de la médecine indienne*. Presumably Caraka lived in Taxila during the time of Kanishka, i.e., first or second centuries A.D.; but there is nothing to my knowledge in the *Carakasamhitā* which bears evidence of the events of this period. The name of Kanishka's minister, Māthara, is a more obscure one. The only trace that I have found is in the *Mahābhārata*, where it appears in a list of celebrated followers of the Sun God (Vana Parvan 3.198); in an obscure passage in the *Santi Parvan* (293.10754) he may be mentioned as a royal son of Sivi, a warlike family-tribe of the Punjab.
44. Partial translation from Zürcher, London Conference paper, 1960. For the legend of the cakravartin's horse, see the *Digha Nikāya* II.175, trans. Rhys Davids, *SBB*, Vol. III, p. 205; also Vol. XI, pp. 255-56; *Lalitavistara*, Foucaux trans. p. 18.
45. Lévi, JA, 1896 II, pp. 472-475.
46. *Ibid.*, pp. 482-483.
47. *Ibid.*, pp. 483-484.
48. Cf. *JRAS*, 1912 and 1913, the contributions of Fleet, Thomas, Smith, and Kennedy.
49. Drouin, *Indian Antiquary*, 32 (1903), pp. 427 ff.; Bataille, *Aréthuse*, V (1928), p. 25; Ghirshman, *Begram*, pp. 162-163. It is a commonly held notion.
50. Ghirshman estimates that Vima lost power between A.D. 130-134, that Jihonika of the Taxila vase (Zeionises of the coins, see Coins 278, 279) became Mahārāja there in A.D. 134 (*Begram*, pp. 163-164); also Konow, *JIH*, XII (1933), p. 139.
51. Göbl, "Münzprägung . . .," *op. cit.*, p. 186. He notes that Kanishka's coins lack the bombast and assertiveness of Vima's regal issues.
52. H. W. Bailey, *Transactions of the Philological Society*, 1954, p. 145; cf. the same publication, 1948, p. 21.
53. Lüders, *EI* (1907), pp. 240-241.
54. Konow, *CII*, p. lxxv. Against this argument is a Khotanese Sanskrit text found at Tun Huang which calls Kanishka the king of Balkh in the following terms: "One hundred years after the nirvāṇa of the Buddha, in a family of imperial rulers of Bahlaka in Tokharistan rose a brave emperor (bala-cakravartin) of Jambudvīpa foretold by the Buddha in person by the name of Candra Kanishka. . . . Relying on his own bodily strength he commanded the continent of Jambudvīpa. By his command, many men, and animals lost their lives." (Bailey, *JRAS*, 1942, pp. 18-19).
55. Ghirshman, *Begram*, pp. 142-144.
56. Ingholt, pp. 14-16, 25.
57. One needs only to allude to the work of the British-Indian, German, French, and Japanese expeditions to the area, to the publications of Sir Aurel Stein, Albert Grünwedel, Albert von Le Coq, and Paul Pelliot.
58. Konow, *CII*, pp. lxxv-lxxvii.
59. See, chiefly, Chavannes, T'oung Pao, VII (1906), pp. 210-269. Also *Hou Han-shu*, Ch. 77.4a-7a.
60. Otto Maenchen-Helfen maintains that the Kushans "gave their name" to a number of towns in Sogdiana and particularly the Tarim basin, for example, present Kashan-Ata northwest of Samarkand, originally Kuei-shuang-ni; Kucha, the important oasis town on the northern road through the Basin; Kao-ch'ang (the present Qocho or Kara-Khojo) thirty miles east

of Turfan (JAOS, 65 [1945], pp. 75-77). These identifications involve philological problems of the most formidable kind. See also Thomas, NC, 1944, pp. 380 ff.

61. Hirth, JAOS 37 (1917), p. 96; Shih-chi, Ch. 123.

62. Chavannes, T'oung Pao, VI (1905), p. 538.

63. Ghirshman, *Cahiers d'histoire mondiale*, III (1957), pp. 707, 708 for further references to Soviet Russian studies. Frye, *Numismatic Notes and Monographs*, American Numismatic Society, no. 113. For the remarkable post-Kushan sanctuary and paintings at Panjikent, near Samarkand, see Yakubovskii, *Zhivopis' Drevnego Pandzhikent*.

64. A largely fruitless excavation at Balkh and the archaeological problems at the site are discussed by Foucher, *La vieille route de l'Inde*, Vol. I; Wheeler, *Antiquity*, XXI (1947), pp. 57-65; Gardin, *Ceramiques de Bactres*, which reviews several sounding operations at the site and the typology of the ceramic finds; Allchin, *Antiquity*, XXXI (1957), pp. 131-141.

65. This legend has been frequently reviewed. See Chavannes, T'oung Pao, VI (1905), p. 546 n.; Zürcher, *The Buddhist Conquest of China*, pp. 24-25, 326.

66. T'oung Pao, VI (1905), pp. 538-539.

67. Beal trans., Vol. I, pp. 37-51; Vol. II, pp. 236-295.

68. Ghirshman, *Begram*, p. 149; cf. Avidieff, "Études historico-archéologique de l'Asie central," in *Vint-cinq ans de science historique en URSS*, p. 71; Strelkoff, A., "Les monuments pré-islamiques de Termez," *Artibus Asiae*, 1928-1929, pp. 216-224.

69. Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, pp. 417-419; the valley of the Pan-shir is said to have been the richest source of silver in the eastern Muslim world (Barthold, *Turkestan . . .*, p. 67).

70. Chingiz Khan used the pastures of Baghlān to rest his horses in the summer of 1223, during his campaigns in the Hindu Kush (Barthold, *Turkestan . . .*, p. 67).

71. From the area came the Oxus Treasure (Dalton, *The Treasure of the Oxus*), with examples of Achaemenian and post-Achaemenian

metal work. For the Kundūz Hoard of Greco-Bactrian and Indo-Greek coins, see Bivar, *JNSI*, XVII (1955), pp. 37-52. For archaeological exploration of the immediate region, Hackin et al., *Diverses recherches archéologiques en Afghanistan*, pp. 19-21, figs. 48-62; Barger and Wright, *Excavations in Swat and Exploration in the Oxus Region of Afghanistan*, MASI no. 64; Fischer, "Gandhāran sculpture from Kunduz and environs," *Artibus Asiae*, XXI (1958), pp. 231-253; Deydier, *Contribution . . .*, pp. 211-212.

72. Alberuni; Sachau trans.

73. The title *bakanāpati* occurs in three Mathurā inscriptions (see Chapter VI, nn. 20 and 22, although the reading of the term in the broken pedestal inscription is not certain). Konow suggested that *bakan* referred to the district in Ferghāna called Wakhan or Warkhan, the modern Badakshān (Konow, *EI*, XXI [1931], pp. 55-61). However, Bailey has shown convincingly that the word must have meant "official in charge of a temple" to be equated with *devakulika*—the term *bakan* being derived from *baga*, god or divinity (BSOAS, XIV [1952], p. 420).

74. Khost, Munjan, Ahreng, Pagh, Kishm, Himatala, Yamgān, Kurān, Tamasthiti along the Oxus, Changāniān, Garma, Sunān, and Kulab (the source of many Indo-Greek coins—Barthold, *op. cit.*, p. 69, n. 1), Kunādiān, Wakhsh (in the plain of Kurgan-tūbe north of the Oxus), Khotl, Kumida, Jūzgāna, Tālikān (Beal, Vol. I, pp. 36-48, Vol. II, pp. 286-295, where these districts are described).

75. Ghirshman, *Begram*, pp. 126-127.

76. Tarn, *GBI*, pp. 96 ff., 460-462; the issue is carefully outlined by Deydier, *Contribution*, pp. 94-97.

77. Narain, *Indo-Greeks*, pp. 63-64 with further references; Whitehead, NC, 1947, pp. 28-32 and 1950, pp. 205-206.

78. Masson, *JASB*, III (1834), pp. 153-175; V (1836), pp. 1 ff., 537 ff.; Wilson, *Ariana Antiqua*, p. 11.

79. Beal trans., Vol. I, pp. 54-58.

80. Paitava excavations, see Hackin, *Mon. Piot*, XXVIII (1925-26), pp. 35-44; Shotarak,

see Meunié, *Shotorak* and in *JA* (1943-1945), pp. 151-162.

81. See Hackin et al., *Nouvelles recherches archéologiques à Begram*.

82. Hou Han-shu 119.9a. "The country of Kao-fu on the southwest of the Great Yüeh-chih. . . its customs resemble those of India, the people are weak and easily conquered; they excel in commerce and are . . . very wealthy. The three countries of T'ien-chu, Ki-pin, and An-hsi have possessed it when they were strong. . . the Yüeh-chih obtained Kao-fu only after they had defeated An-hsi." Translation from Zürcher, London Conference, 1960.

83. Marquart, *Erānsahr*, p. 48, n. 2.

84. Chavannes, *T'oung Pao*, VI (1905), pp. 538-539.

85. Sachau trans. Vol. II, p. 10.

86. Deydier, pp. 155-170 for bibliography, to which add Wilson, *Ariana Antiqua*, pp. 114-118.

87. Hackin and Carl, *Recherches archéologiques au col de Khair Khaneh*.

88. Konow, *CII*, pp. 165 ff.; other Buddhist sites in the Kabul area include Tepe-Maranjān (largely post-Kushan), see Hackin et al., *Diverses recherches archéologiques en Afghanistan* (1933-1940), pp. 7-12 and figs. 1-15; also Curiel and Schlumberger, *Trésors monétaires d'Afghanistan*, pp. 101-131. For a pre-Kushan fortress 12 kms. south of Kabul, at Saka, see Hackin et al., *Diverses recherches* . . . , pp. 13-21, figs. 21 ff.

89. Deydier, pp. 155-170.

90. Konow, *CII*, pp. 167 ff.

91. MacDowall, London Conference, 1960.

92. Smith, *Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum*, Vol. I, Part I, pp. 87, 91.

93. The excavations in recent years by Italian archaeologists at Udegram and Mingora promise to clarify the development of Buddhist sculpture in the middle and lower Swāt Valley, particularly in its earlier phases.

94. Aurel Stein, *An Archaeological Tour in Upper Swat and Adjacent Hill Tracts*, pp. 32-33 and fig. 25.

95. Marshall, *Taxila*, pp. 217-222. It should be pointed out that on the basis of later excavations, Mortimer Wheeler interpreted the

Taxila towns differently, saying that the ruins of a Kaccha Kot at the north end of Sirkap represented an earlier and separate Greek city (Wheeler, *Five Thousand Years of Pakistan*, p. 47, also a note in *Ancient India*, IV [1947-48], pp. 83-84).

96. The bastion walls were more than eighteen feet thick, with semi-circular towers, their form anticipating mediaeval Islamic and European fortifications.

97. See Konow, *CII*, for Zeda, p. 145, for Uṇḍ, p. 171, for Mānikiala, p. 67, and for Arā, p. 162.

98. Marshall, *Taxila*, p. 73.

99. Konow, *CII*, p. 138.

100. Stein trans. of the *Rājataranginī*, I, 168-173.

101. Chavannes, *T'oung Pao*, VI (1905).

102. Kak, *Ancient Monuments of Kashmir*, pp. 105 ff. It is possible that Harwan is the remains of the sanctuary Sadārhadvana, see above n. 17.

103. Fabri, *Asia Magazine* (Oct., 1939), pp. 592-598.

104. *ASIR* 1904-05, pp. 78 ff.

105. See above, n. 18.

106. P. L. Gupta, *JNSI*, XV (1953), pp. 185-192; A. C. Banerji, *JNSI*, XII (1951), pp. 107-109. These two papers differ widely in their interpretation of the evidence. Other finds include: coins of Kanishka and Huvishka in two hoards from Mayurbhañj (*ASIR* 1924-25, pp. 130-132); ninety-eight coppers of Vāsudeva found at Srāvastī (*ASIR* 1910-11, p. 16); one hundred coppers of Huvishka and Kanishka found at Bindwal, eastern Uttar Pradesh (*JNSI*, XI [1949], p. 62; Göbl, *Numismatische Zeitschrift*, 77 (1957), pp. 18-27).

107. Allan, *BMC Ancient India*, pp. cxxi-cxxii.

108. Lévi, "Deux peuples méconnus," *Mélanges Charles de Harlez*, 1896; reprinted in *Memorial Sylvain Lévi*, p. 235-243.

109. Lévi, *JA*, 1902, pp. 95 ff.; Fleet, *CII*, pp. 14, 128, 132, 138; Konow, *CII*, p. 143; Agrawala, *JUPHS*, XXIV-XXV (1951-52), pp. 248 ff.; Bailey, *Transactions of the Philological Society*, 1956, pp. 108 ff.

110. Lévi, "Deux peuples . . .," *op. cit.*, p.

236; Pelliot, *BEFEO*, III (1903), pp. 248 ff.

111. Pargiter, *Dynasties of the Kali Age*, pp. 74-75.

112. Fleet, *CII*, p. 14.

113. See discussion in Altekar and Majumdar, *Vākātaka-Gupta Age*, pp. 135-137.

114. Lévi, "Deux peuples . . .," *op cit.*, pp. 238-239; Henning, *BSOAS*, XIII (1949), pp. 80-81.

115. Bivar, *JNSI*, XVIII (1956), pp. 37-41.

116. Coedès, *Les états hindouisés d'Indochine et d'Indonesie*, pp. 82-83, 459, with further references. Note also that the title *Muruṇḍa* is mentioned in India as late as the sixth century in the Koh copper plates (Fleet, *CII*, pp. 128, 132).

117. Lévi, *JA*, 1936, pp. 1 ff.

118. Alföldi, "Hasta—Summa imperii: the spear as embodiment of sovereignty in Rome," *American Journal of Archaeology*, 63 (1959), pp. 1-29.

119. See Bellinger in *Excavations at Dura-Europos—preliminary report, 6th season*, pp. 444 ff with further references. Pope, *Survey of Persian Art*, Pl. 161.a.

120. Bailey, *London Conference* 1960.

121. Vogel, *ASIR* 1910-11, pp. 40-48; Agrawala, *Cat.*, 136-137.

122. Konow, *CII*, p. 162.

123. Rapson, *JRAS*, 1930, pp. 186 ff.

124. Basham, *BSOAS*, XX (1957), pp. 85-88.

125. *Ibid.*, with further references.

126. Ghirshman, *Begram*, pp. 101-102.

NOTES TO CHAPTER III

1. Padma Altekar, *JNSI*, XIV (1952), pp. 62-65.

2. Konow, *CII*, p. 165.

3. Marshall, *Taxila*, p. 41.

4. Ghirshman, *Begram*, pp. 141 ff.

5. Basham, *BSOAS*, XX (1957), pp. 84-85.

6. Thomas, *JRAS*, 1952, pp. 108-116.

7. Göbl does not make these observations about the portrait likenesses ("Münzprägung . . .," *op. cit.*, pp. 192-209).

8. *Op. cit.*, pp. 192-195.

9. First noted by Narain, *JNSI*, XXII (1960), pp. 97 ff.

10. MacDowall, *JNSI*, XXII (1960), p. 73.

11. Wilson, *Ariana Antiqua*, Pl. XIII.14.

12. Ingholt, pp. 25-26. Hill, *BMC Arabia, Mesopotamia, and Persia*, pp. cxcv-cxcvi. The hoard included 522 later Characene coins among a much larger number of corroded, unrecognizable coins and three Kushan pieces: a Kanishka coin with seated king and standing Ardoxsho; Vima, similar to Coin 29 here; Huviska similar to *BMC*, Pl. XXIX.3.

13. Sircar, in *The Age of Imperial Unity*, p. 147.

14. See M. P. Charlesworth, *Proceedings of the British Academy*, XXIII (1937), pp. 105-135.

15. There have been several attempts to study the religious content of this pantheon. Cunningham (*NC*, 1892, pp. 53 ff.) believed that it was governed by the worship of the seven planets; this view was adopted by Bloch (*ZDMG*, 64 [1910], pp. 739 ff.) who expanded it into a full system of planetary and astrological referents. There can be no question astrological elements were associated with popular divinities at this time, but the Kushan coin pantheon was too irregular to have been basically astrological.

One of the most informative essays is that of Sir Aurel Stein (*Indian Antiquary*, XVII [1888], pp. 89 ff.). It is remarkable for the time in which it was written, but its major premise that the Iranian deities were Zoroastrian should be revised in so far as the ethical elements of Zoroastrianism seem to have been secondary with the Kushans. Probably the most valuable single correlation of the Kushan coins and Iranian religious sources is Louis Gray's *The Foundations of the Iranian Religions*, published as the Ratnabai Katrak Lecture in an entire number of the *Journal of the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute*, 15 (1929), pp. 1-229. A useful survey of the linguistic problems in the names of the deities is Janos Harmatta's "Cušanica," *Acta Orientalia (Hungaricae)*, XI (1961), pp. 191 ff.

16. The form of this scheme and much of its information are adapted from Göbl, "Münz-

- prägung . . .," *op. cit.*, pp. 187, 193.
17. Bailey, *Zoroastrian Problems in the Ninth Century Books*, pp. 65 ff.; Gray, *op. cit.*, pp. 66-70; Hoffman, "Auszüge aus Syrischen Akten Persischer Märtyrer," *Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, VII, no. 3 (1880), p. 147.
 18. Yašt XVII (Āsi Yašt), trans. SBE, Vol. XXIII, pp. 41 ff.
 19. Harmatta, *Acta Orientalia (Hungaricae)*, XI (1960), pp. 198-199; see also Bussagli, *Revue de l'histoire des religions*, CXL (1951), pp. 129 ff.; Whitehead, NC, 1937, p. 71.
 20. Yašt III, trans. SBE, Vol. XXIII, pp. 41 ff.
 21. Sirozah II.7. trans. SBE, Vol. XXIII, p. 14.
 22. Gray, *op. cit.*, pp. 66-70.
 23. Atiš Nyayis, trans. SBE, vol. XXIII, pp. 375 ff.
 24. Wikander, *Feuerpriester . . .*, p. 106.
 25. Xenophon, *Cyropaedia*, vii.v.22.
 26. SBE, Vol. XXIII, 360 p., n. 6.
 27. Smith, *Jain Stūpa of Mathura*, Pl. 88.
 28. SBE, Vol. IV, p. 168; Gray, *op. cit.*, p. 67.
 29. NC, 1892, p. 158. The prototypes in three-dimensional sculpture were probably Gandhāran, similar perhaps to examples in the Mardān Guides Mess Collection (Ingholt, no. 59). The mandorla around the entire body is an unusual feature, however, in the sculpture of this period.
 30. NC, 1892, Pl. VIII.12.
 31. *Ibid.*, Pl. VIII.14.
 32. Gardner, BMC, p. 175, Pl. XXXII.14.
 33. Scheftelowitz, AO, XI (1933), p. 324.
 34. Vogel, SM, Pl. XLVII.b.
 35. *Orientalia*, XVII (1948), p. 230.
 36. Bloch, ZDMG, 64 (1910), p. 739; cf. Christensen, *Études sur le zoroastrianisme de la perse antique*, p. 38.
 37. Justi, *Iranisches namenbuch*, p. 86.
 38. Gray, pp. 133-135; Geiger, *Die Amēša Spentas*, p. 22 n. 1. Harmatta does not accept this (*Acta Orientalia [Hungaricae]*, XI [1960], pp. 202-203) but sees a simple equivalence between Druvašpa and LROOASPO.
 39. Allan, *BMC Anc. India*, pp. lix, cx.
 40. Banerjea, *Development of Hindu Iconography*, pp. 144-145. Cf. Mbh. II.32.4-5.
 41. Nyasn III.1; trans. SBE, Vol. XXIII, p. 355; Hoffmann, "Auszüge . . .," *op. cit.*, p. 148.
 42. Gray, *op. cit.*, p. 83.
 43. Gray, *op. cit.*, p. 88.
 44. Widengren, *The Great Vohu Manah and the Apostle of God*.
 45. Harmatta sees no serious linguistic objections to identifying him with Vohumano (*Acta Orientalia [Hungaricae]*, XI [1960], p. 201). Th. Bloch considered him a form of Šiva, saying that although his name is that of the Iranian Lord of Pious Mind, his form is purely Indian and the lunar crescent a symbol of Šiva (ZDMG, XIV [1919], pp. 742-743). Cunningham suggested that the name MANAO was the Sanskrit mana, for measure, and that the god was the Lord of Measure and Order, holding calipers where I have seen a torque (NC, 1892, p. 131). See also a seal in the Indian Museum, Calcutta (ASIR 1928-29, Pl. LV.37).
 46. Mah Yašt (Yašt V); trans. SBE, Vol. XXIII, p. 90.
 47. SBE, Vol. XXIII, p. 90.
 48. *Orientalia*, XVII (1948), p. 255.
 49. Gray, *op. cit.*, pp. 89-99.
 50. Bussagli, *East and West (IsMEO)*, IV (1955), pp. 9-25, regarding the solar emblems of the period; also Rowland, *Zalmoxis*, I (1938), pp. 74 ff.
 51. In the growing research on the folkloristic, non-Zoroastrian elements in Iranian religion, especially in these eastern provinces, see Wikander, *Feuerpriester in Kleinasien und Iran*, and his Vayu; also Humbach, "Der iranische Mitra als Daiva," *Paideuma*, VII (1960), pp. 25 ff; and his *Die Kaniška-inschrift von Surkh-Kotal*.
 52. This is not a mistake in the mint process (a double strike) but a clear feature of the coin. See Duchesne-Guillemin, *Paideuma*, VII (1960), pp. 32-38.
 53. A. N. L. hiri, *JNSI*, XIII (1951), pp. 175-177; Altekar, *JNSI*, XIV (1952), pp. 71-72.
 54. Among the early major studies of this deity are Princep's (*Essays on Indian Antiqui-*

tics, 1858. Vol. I, p. 132) and Hoffmann, "Auszüge . . .," *op. cit.*

55. L. W. King. *The Seven Tablets of Creation*, Vol. I., pp. 222 ff.

56. Frankfort, *Art and Architecture of the Ancient Orient*, p. 19, Pl. 119a, etc.

57. Cumont. *Fouilles de Doura-Europos*, pp. 190 ff.

58. Ingholt, Seyrig, et al., *Receuil des tesselers de Palmyre*, nos. 238-242, 285, 286.

59. *Ibid.*, no. 121.

60. Fukai, "The artifacts of Hatra and Parthian art," *East and West (IsMEO)*, VII (1960), p. 164, fig. 24; Ingholt, *Parthian Sculptures from Hatra*, pp. 12-13, 21 n. 25.

61. Cumont, *op. cit.*, p. 197.

62. Tarn, *GBI*, pp. 463-466, where he explores the tradition that the Seleucid Antiochus IV attacked this temple. See Pliny, *Natural History*, VI.xxxi.135.

63. Hoffmann, *op. cit.*, p. 155; see also Wikander, *Feuerpriester . . .*, p. 74; Maricq, *JA*, 1958, p. 424; Foucher, *AGB*, Vol. II, p. 857.

64. Yašt V, *SBE*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 52-84.

65. *Ibid.*, verses 126-129.

66. Olmstead, *History of the Persian Empire*, p. 423 with sources.

67. Berossos (*Frag. hist. graec. Fr. 16*) in Clement of Alexandria, *Protreptikos* V.65.3.

68. Gray, pp. 55-62; see also Plutarch, "Artaxerxes," 27; Polybius X.27—these last two regarding an elaborate temple of Anāitis at Ecbatana.

69. Diodotus II (*BMC*, Pl. I.9); Demetrius I (*PMC*, I.22); Artemidorus (*BMC*, Pl. XIII.2; *PMC*, Pl. VII.555). Maues (*PMC*, Pl. X.10; *BMC*, Pl. XVI.4).

70. Tarn, *op. cit.*, p. 115; Allouche-le Page, *L'art monétaire des royaumes Bactriens*, p. 113.

71. Agathangelos I.v.21.

72. Ingholt, Seyrig, et al., *op. cit.*, no. 167 for Anāhitā. In these tesselae, she is a rare element and does not otherwise seem to figure in Palmyrene religion.

73. For Anāhitā in Sasanian coinage, see Göbl, *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, LVI (1960), pp. 36-51; Lars-Avar Ringbom, *Zur Ikonographie der Göttin*

Ardvi Sura Anahita. See Pope, *Survey of Persian Art*, Pls. 124.v,w, 160.

74. If the Kushan NANA and the Sasanian Anāhitā are the same deity or partook of the same religious tradition, it is difficult to explain why their imagery is so different in detail. Nyberg believes that Anāhitā was preëminently an eastern Iranian deity (*Die Religionen des Alten Iran*, pp. 260 ff.).

75. This combination appears in Gupta Hindu relief sculpture, upon a pillar at Bilsad, Etah District, dated in A.D. 415 (Cunningham, *ASR*, XI, Pl. VI; Smith, "Indian Sculpture of the Gupta Period," *OZ*, III (1914), p. 11, fig. 5).

76. *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, Nr. 1380; cf. Wikander, *Feuerpriester . . .*, pp. 67-68; Pauli-Wissowa, *Real-encyclopädie der classischen Altertums-wissenschaft* (1935), s.v. Nanaia.

77. Ingholt, Seyrig, et al., *Tesselae . . .*, *passim*; Février, James. *La religion des Palmyréniens*.

78. Examples of his coins have been recently found together with those of Hyrkodes and Heraus a short distance north of Termez, in the vicinity of Balalyik Tepe and Sar Tepe in Russian Turkestan (Albaum, *Balalyik Tepe*, p. 37). Tarn thought the king to be a Greco-Bactrian princeling displaced by the Barbarian conquest of Bactria, minting in the first century B.C. (*CBI*, p. 301). See Gardner, *BMC*, Pl. XXIV.14-16. His name seems cognate to those among the Parthian dynasty of Vonones ruling in Arachosia, such as Spalarises, Spalagadames, Spalahora, etc. See also Marshall, *Taxila*, pp. 774-775.

79. Henning, *BSOAS*, XII (1948), pp. 601-615. The basic text of these letters is to be found in Reichelt, *Die Sogdhischen Handschriftenreste des Britischen Museums*. See also Pelliot, *T'oung Pao*, XXVIII (1931), pp. 457-463.

80. I. M. Dyakonov, "Dokumenty iz Nisy," (Moscow, 1960), p. 16. Reference courtesy of Richard N. Frye.

81. Burgess, *Ancient Monuments of India*, Pl. 35.

82. Dalton, *Treasure of the Oxus*, Pl. XXXII, no. 203, pp. 57-58. It bears an inscription in "5th century Arsacid Pehlevi." It is also said to

have come from Sogdiana, but this is not certain. According to Dalton, similar objects have been found near Perm together with Sasanian coins.

83. A silver repousée plaque with an archer, like Diana or NANA in Huvishka's Coin 141 (Trever, *Monuments of Greco-Bactrian art*, Pl. 12); a plaque showing a goddess wearing a mural crown (Trever, Pl. 27); a winged goddess wearing a low modius and carrying fruit (Pl. 13), resembling the Kushan OANINDO (no. 17 here). The provenance and date of these pieces are very obscure.

84. Wikander devotes a lengthy study to this deity, especially his earlier aspects (Vayu, *Quaestiones Indo-Iranicae*, 1).

85. Christensen, *Les gestes des rois*, pp. 67-88.

86. Gray, *op. cit.*, p. 170.

87. Noted by Göbl ("Münzprägung . . .", p. 190), who interprets the type thus as a local or folk motif. For the derivation of such forms from classical prototypes, see Benjamin Rowland, "Buddha and the Sun God," *Zalmoxis* I (1938).

88. Stein, "Zoroastrian deities . . .", *op. cit.*, p. 4; Cumont, *Textes et monuments . . .*, p. 136; Gray, *op. cit.*, p. 166; note also that the word "oanindo" appears as an epithet of Kanishka at Surkh Kotal (Kaneshko oanindo bagolaggo, "the sanctuary of 'Kanishka the Victorious'"). See Chapter VII, n. 8.

89. Bailey, *Zoroastrian Problems in the Ninth Century Books*, pp. 65-66.

90. J. N. Banerjea, in a discussion of the form of the deity on these coins, interprets the motif as a jatâ, a tall headdress (*Development of Hindu Iconography*, p. 122).

91. Allan, *BMC Anc. India*, p. cxvii, Pl. XXVIII.8.

92. Rapson, *JRAS*, 1897, pp. 323-324; Maricq, *JA*, 1958, p. 425.

93. See *Comprehensive History of India*, Vol. II, pp. 393-403, 825 (bibliography).

94. Marshall, *Taxila*, p. 681, Pl. 208, no. 56; Banerjea, *Development of Hindu Iconography*, 2d ed., pp. 119-120.

95. Agrawala, *Cat.*, pp. 27-28; *JISOA*, IV (1936), Pl. XXIII. And it should be noted that

there is some evidence of Mathurâ's being an important early Saiva center, particularly of the Pâsupata creed, perhaps as early as the second century A.D. (D. R. Bhandarkar, *EI*, XXI, pp. 1-9, ref. the Mathurâ pillar inscription of Chandragupta II which gives the genealogy of local Pâsupata teachers).

96. By Banerjea in *Comprehensive History of India*, Vol. II, p. 247.

97. *Archaeologischer Anzeiger*, 72 (1957), pp. 416-435. From the same site came also a small bronze statue of Herakles.

98. Göbl in *Anhang I to Humbach, Die Kaniška-Inschrift von Surkh-Kotal*, pp. 57-59. For this coin, see also Banerjea, *Development of Hindu Iconography*, p. 126.

99. Gray, *op. cit.*, pp. 117-119; Benveniste and Renou, *Vṛtra et Vṛthragna, étude de mythologie indo-iranienne*.

100. *SBE*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 231-248.

101. Christensen in *Cambridge Ancient History*, vol. XII, p. 120.

102. Herzfeld, *Iran in the Ancient East*, Pl. CIV.

103. Benveniste and Renou, *op. cit.*, p. 81.

104. Gray, *op. cit.*, pp. 99-101.

105. Cunningham, *NC*, 1892, pp. 24, 61.

106. Vermuele, *The Goddess Roma . . .*, Pl. I for typical seated types; standing figures are usually dressed in a short tunic instead of a robe (Pl. IV-VI).

107. Göbl, *JNSI*, XXII (1960), pp. 86-87.

108. Cunningham noted the close resemblance of these two deities *NC*, 1892, pp. 24, 61.

109. J. G. Milne in *Hastings, ERE*, Vol. VI, p. 376.

110. Hackin, *Nouvelles recherches archéologiques à Begram*, pp. 91-147; Marshall, *Taxila*, Pl. 186, no. 417. Göbl shows that for the Sarapis on Kushan coins, the seated figure has no clear prototype in Alexandrian coinage, whereas the standing one is extremely close to comparable coins of Hadrian (A.D. 120-127), a very convincing parallel (*JNSI*, XXII [1960], p. 84).

111. Gray, pp. 45-47; Cumont, *Textes et monuments . . .*, p. 136; Jackson in *Hastings, ERE*, Vol. I, p. 285; Bussagli, *Annali Lateranensi*, XIII (1949), p. 370 n. for further refer-

ences. Symbolically, this type seems closely related to that of the RISHNO, discussed in no. 22 above.

112. The little aedicule is a trait commonly found in Roman coinage. Göbl has found comparable examples of the time of Hadrian and Antoninus Pius (*JNSI*, XXII [1960] p. 87). It is astonishing to see Hindu deities placed in an exotic setting of this sort.

113. These deities are discussed by Banerjea, *Development of Hindu Iconography*, pp. 85, 265.

114. Bussagli, *Revue de l'histoire des religions*, CXL (1951), pp. 129-154.

115. Cunningham, *NC*, 1892, p. 156.

116. Maricq, *JA*, 1958, p. 427.

117. Cunningham, *NC*, 1892, p. 150.

118. Stein, "Zoroastrian deities . . .," *op. cit.*, p. 7; joined recently by Maricq, *JA*, 1958, p. 427.

119. This is also Cumont's opinion (*Textes et monuments . . .*, Vol. II, p. 187).

120. *JA*, 1958, pp. 419-420; this has already been emended in part by the Russian scholar B. J. Stavisky, *JNSI* XXII (1960), pp. 102 ff. in a most useful review of the later seals.

121. See Lynn White, Jr., *American Historical Review*, LXV (1960), p. 516.

122. Konow, *CII*, p. 143; Agrawala, *JBRs* XXXVIII (1952), p. 1.

123. Cunningham, *NC*, 1892, Pl. XI.15, p. 111.

124. Henning, *BSOAS*, XXIII (1960), p. 50; Maricq, *JA*, 1958, p. 398.

125. Cunningham, *NC*, 1892, Pl. XII.18, p. 116; Maricq, *JA*, 1958, pp. 362-363.

126. Henning, *BSOAS* XXIII (1960), p. 50.

127. Bivar, who was the first to publish this impression (*NC*, 1955, p. 202).

128. Marshall, *Taxila*, p. 681, Pl. 208, Seal no. 26.

NOTES TO CHAPTER IV

1. A Buddha image. Mathurā Museum no. 2907. Sircar, *EI*, XXX (1954), pp. 181-184.

2. Konow, *CII*, p. 171.

3. The founder of the Kaṇva Dynasty was

Vāsudeva, about 75 B.C. (Raychaudhuri, *PHAI*, p. 398).

4. Basham, *BSOAS*, XX (1957), p. 78.

5. Mathurā Museum no. 1344. Agrawala, *Cat.*, p. 42; *ASIR*, 1925-26, pp. 183-184, Pl. LXVII.x. Agrawala dates it in the first century A.D. The work is somewhat rude and fragmented, but the figures seem to be related to carvings datable in the early third century. In either instance, it is an ancient work of great importance for the history of the cult of Kṛishṇa.

6. Pelliot, *T'oung Pao*, V (1905), 519 ff.; Pelliot, *JA*, 1934, p. 40; Ghirshman, *Begram*, pp. 156-157; Bussagli, "Persistenze . . .," *op. cit.*, pp. 223-224.

7. Moses Khorenac'i, II.72; cf. Ghirshman, *Begram*, p. 156.

8. Marshall, *Buddhist Art of Gandhāra*, p. 107. For the contrary view, see Soper's review of this work in *Artibus Asiae*, XXIII (1960), p. 263. See also Ghirshman, *Cahiers d'histoire mondiale*, III (1957), p. 715, for a terminus in the mid-third century.

9. Van Lohuizen, *SPIH*, pp. 235 ff., 262.

10. Konow, *JIH*, XII (1933), p. 8.

11. Thomas, *JRAS*, 1952, pp. 108-116. Another review of van Lohuizen's hypothesis, approving it in general outline, can be found in Takata, *Bijutsu Kenkyū*, no. 184 (1956), pp. 223-240.

12. Bachhofer, *JAOS*, LVI (1936), pp. 429-439.

13. Göbl, "Münzprägung . . .," *op. cit.*, p. 214.

14. This argument has two bases. The first is that of parallelism: the copious coinage of Kanishka III follows directly that of Vāsudeva I, and dated Mathurā carvings of Kanishka (years 5-17) directly follow stylistically those of Vāsudeva I; second, the costume styles of this epoch as shown especially in the Sāñchi dated pedestal (Figure 34) is the same as that of the coins of both Vāsudeva II and Kanishka III, and so also is the figural canon of the imagery, with small feet and finely detailed features of face and costume.

15. Wilson, (*Ariana Antiqua*, p. 380) states that great numbers of these pappas of Kanishka were found at Begram.

16. Cunningham indicates generally that the Kanishka coins are "especially common in North-West India," whereas the Vāsudeva coins came principally from the west (NC, 1893, p. 116).
17. Göbl, "Münzprägung . . .," *op. cit.*, pp. 214-215. Göbl feels that the differences here justify a belief that Vāsudeva I established a new mint town, probably at Peshāwar. Herein he recognizes the distinctive quality of these coins.
18. Bivar, *JNSI*, XVIII (1956), pp. 13-42. The same akshara appears on early Kushano-Sasanian issues, Coins 249-253.
19. Göbl, "Münzprägung . . .," *op. cit.*, pp. 212-213.
20. Wilson, *Ariana Antiqua*, pp. 377-379.
21. NC, 1893, p. 115.
22. These two carvings and epigraphs are of crucial importance for aesthetic as well as historical reasons. Regarding the date of the earlier one (Figure 34), I have little doubt that it belongs to the newer Kushan era on both epigraphic and stylistic grounds (see van Lohuizen, *SPIH*, pp. 313-314; Marshall and Foucher, *Sāñchī*, Pl. 105c, p. 386). Basham has questioned this assumption, holding that the piece reflects the period when Kanishka's successor Vāsishka was acting as viceroy at Vidiśā (*BSOAS*, XV [1953], p. 94). A comparison with the pedestal of the year 29 during the reign of Huvishka (Figure 32) should indicate that the two works belong to radically different artistic ambients, a point which van Lohuizen documents in detail. The second image is dated in the year 28 of the Emperor Vāsashka (*EI*, II, pp. 369 ff.; *EI*, IX, pp. 244-245; Marshall and Foucher, *Sāñchī*, Pl. 124b, p. 385; *JRAS*, 1903, pp. 326 ff.). It is so badly damaged that it would not bear stylistic analysis alone, but it is closely related to a large group of Mathurā royal Bodhisattva images of which the example from Gaṇeśra now in the Mathurā Museum (no. A.45) is the best preserved (Agrawala, *Cat.*, p. 38; Zachhofer, *EIS*, Pl. 85; Vogel, *Cat. Mathurā Museum*, Pl. X; Vogel, *SM*, Pl. XXXIIIa). Stylistically, these pieces are considerably drier and more compact than the works which are unquestionably of the time of Kanishka I and early Huvishka. The drapery as it passes over the shoulder and left arm is carved in a more sophisticated manner, and the way in which the lappet falls to the pedestal at the left knee is not found in the earlier works. Stylistic parallels can be found in the Bodhisattvas of the Jamāl-pur lintel (Figure 40) or the standing image of Kārttikeya (Figure 49). On the other hand, the ruler Vāsashka was given full imperial epithets as was the Vāsishka of the Isapur yūpa inscription of the year 24 (Vogel, *ASIR*, 1910-11, pp. 40-48), and it would stretch one's credulity to think of two Kanishka's a century apart each followed by a Vāsishka or Vāsashka. Thomas has claimed that epigraphically this inscription is orthodox early Kushan in letter types whereas the one of Vaskushāṇa bears later forms (*India Antiqua* [Vogel Festschrift], p. 299). Nevertheless, I feel that the two are epigraphically similar (as does Basham *BSOAS*, XV [1953], pp. 94, 97), and that they belong together in time in the first half of the third century.
23. Marshall, *Taxila*, p. 73.
24. NC, 1893, p. 116.
25. Smith, *Catalogue of Coins, Indian Museum*, Vol. I, pt. 1, p. 87.
26. Its only publication is by Whitehead, NC, 1947, Pl. II.11, 12, pp. 28-51.
27. Published in *The Age of Imperial Unity*, Pl. XXXVII.d; also M. F. C. Martin, *JASB* XXIX (1933), Numismatic Supplement, no. XLIV; S. K. Saraswati in *Year Book of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1950, pp. 179-190. I am extremely grateful to Śrī Saraswati for sending me a copy of his remarks in the *Year Book* as well as the information that the coin in question was offered for sale in India together with an item now in the British Museum (Coin 17) and another in the Fitzwilliam Museum (Whitehead, NC, 1950, p. 227, Pl. XII.19) similar to Coin 43 here. The current location of the later Kanishka coin is unknown.
28. See Vincent Smith, *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift*, III (1914), p. 10, fig. 5; Cunningham, *ASR*, XI, p. 17, Pl. VI.
29. Narain, *JBRS*, XXXVI (1950), p. 52.
30. Agrawala, *JBRS*, XXXVII (1952), pp. 230-232.
31. Fleet, *CII*, pp. 251-252.

32. Pargiter, *Purāṇa Texts* . . . , p. 73; Wilson, *Vishṇu Purāṇa*, Vol. IV, pp. 217-218.
33. Raychaudhuri, *PHAI*, 6th ed., pp. 48 ff.; Altekar, in *Vākāṭaka-Gupta Age*, pp. 33 ff., 130. For the sculptures, see *ASIR*, 1915-16, pp. 101 ff.
34. Ramchandran, T. N. "The Aśvamedha site near Kalsi," *Journal of Oriental Research*, XXI (1951-52), pp. 1-31.
35. Tabari, trans. Nöldeke, pp. 17-18. The historical accuracy of this passage has been questioned by Ghirshman, *Begram*, p. 99, and Marquart, *Erānšahr*, p. 48.
36. See Maricq, *Syria*, XXV (1958), pp. 295-360; Sprengling, *Third Century Iran*; Henning, *BSOAS*, IX (1939), pp. 823-850. Sprengling, *AJSLL*, LVII (1940), pp. 431 ff.
37. *BSOAS*, XII (1947), p. 54.
38. Maricq and Hönigman, *Recherches* . . . , pp. 91-94, 98-106.
39. Ghirshman, *Begram*, p. 160; also in *Cahiers d'histoire mondiale*, III (1957), pp. 698-713.
40. Ghirshman, *Chionites et Hephthalites*, p. 72.
41. The identification of these regions has been made by Maricq, Sprengling, and Henning. I have also interpolated material from Marquardt, *Erānšahr*, chiefly pp. 72 ff., 179 ff.
42. Cunningham, *NC*, 1893, pp. 166-202; Bataille, *Aréthuse*, 1928, pp. 19-35; Herzfeld, *Kushano-Sasanian Coins*; Vasmer, *Zeitschrift für Numismatik*, 42 (1935), pp. 24-58; Bivar, *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, XVIII (1956), pp. 13-42; Göbl, *Numismatik Zeitschrift*, 77 (1957), pp. 18-27; Göbl, "Münzprägung . . . ," *op. cit.*, pp. 221-235.
43. Cunningham, *NC*, 1893, pp. 166-167; Whitehead, *PMC*, p. 176; Curiel and Schlumberger, *Trésors monétaires d'Afghanistan*, pp. 126-127.
44. Göbl, "Münzprägung . . . ," *op. cit.*, p. 221.
45. Erdmann, *Ars Islamica*, XV-XVI (1951), pp. 87-123, especially p. 99; Göbl's *aufbau of Sasanid coin types* in Altheim and Stiehl, *Ein asiatischer Staat*, Pl. IV.
46. This coin is published by Cunningham, *NC*, 1893, Pl. XIII.2, p. 178. It is paralleled by one published by Bivar, *JNSI*, XVIII (1956), Pls. II.17 and V.1. See also Herzfeld, *Kushano-Sasanian Coins*, p. 31.
47. Göbl, "Münzprägung . . . ," *op. cit.*, pp. 230-232.
48. Herzfeld, *Paikuli*, Vol. I, pp. 121 ff.
49. Marshall, *Taxila*, pp. 73-74.
50. Pope, *Survey of Persian Art*, Pl. 212 (attributed to Baharām Gur). For a seventh-century copy of a salver of the time of Yazdigird II, see Erdmann, *Die Kunst Irans zur Zeit der Sasaniden*, Pl. 69, p. 98. For the headdress of Shāpūr II, see Cunningham, *NC*, 1893, p. 169.
51. Göbl, "Münzprägung . . . ," *op. cit.*, p. 225.
52. Herzfeld, *Kushano-Sasanian Coins*, p. 24. Ghirshman identified the piece as that of the first Kidara issues (*Chionites-Hephthalites*, pp. 73, 78); accepted by Bivar, *JNSI*, XVIII (1956), p. 19.

NOTES TO CHAPTER V

1. For a general review, see Cattopadhyaya, *The Sakas in India*, Rapson, *BMC Andhras and Western Kshatrapas*; Rapson (ed.), *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, pp. 567-586; Banerjea in Sastri (ed.), *Comprehensive History of India*, Vol. II, pp. 186-221, 263-292.
2. Konow, *JIH*, XII (1933), p. 1. For the same view, Rapson, *BMC Andhras and Kshatrapas*, pp. cvi-cvii.
3. The term is a Sanskritized form of the Old Persian Kshathraparvan (Protector of the Land). Unquestionably, it was a title of a subordinate position less powerful than that of viceroy or proconsul in Achaemenian and post-Achaemenian times. The term was also employed in Kushan inscriptions, e.g., the Sāmāth Bala Bodhisattva inscriptions (see Chapter IX, n. 138) or that of the Mānikiala stone of the year 18 of Kanishka (Konow, *CII*, p. 150) along with references to the higher power of a Mahārāja. It should be stressed that not one Western Kshatrpa inscription or coin type bears a reference to an authority higher than that of Mahākshatrpa or yields even indirect evidence of submission to the Kushans.

4. Tod, *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, Vol. II, pp. 33-44.
5. Majumdar and Altekar, *Vākātaka-Gupta Age*, pp. 87, 103-105.
6. Schmidt, *Persepolis*, Vol. I, pp. 85-90; Herodotus, Book IV, Chapter 64.
7. Debevoise, *Political History of Parthia*, pp. 54-69; Rawlinson, *Parthia*, pp. 124-125.
8. Konow, *CII*, p. xxxi; Tarn, *GBI*, pp. 232-233.
9. Zürcher, London Conference, April 1960; see Wylie, "Notes on the Western Regions," *op. cit.*, pp. 35-36.
10. Tarn, *GBI*, pp. 339-341; Narain, *Indo-Greeks*, p. 154 with further references.
11. For this phase of Saka history, I have depended primarily upon Jenkins, *JNSI*, XVII (1955), pp. 1-26; Jenkins and Narain, *The Coin-types of the Saka-Pahlava Kings of India*; Narain, *The Indo-Greeks*, pp. 128-164. See also Simonetta, *East and West (IsMEO)*, IX, (1958), pp. 154-173; Smith, *ZDMG*, 61 (1907), pp. 414 ff.
12. Narain, *The Indo-Greeks*, p. 145.
13. Tarn, *GBI*, p. 322.
14. Banerjea, *Development of Hindu Iconography*, pp. 120-121.
15. Konow, *CII*, pp. 23-29; Tarn, *GBI*, pp. 494-502.
16. Marshall, *Taxila*, p. 48.
17. Konow, *CII*, pp. 18, 21.
18. See the review of this issue in van Lohuizen, *SPIH*, pp. 8-19, 50 ff.; Tarn, *GBI*, pp. 494-502.
19. Bhandarkar, *ASIR*, 1913-14, pp. 186-266; *ASIR*, 1914-15, pp. 66-89.
20. This is also the view of Marshall, *Taxila*, p. 51.
21. Van Lohuizen, *SPIH*, pp. 337-341.
22. Konow, *CII*, p. xxxi.
23. It is related to the problem of the date of Hermaeus. I subscribe to the view that during the rule of the Azes kings in Gandhāra Kabul was governed by Parthians who minted coins imitating those of Hermaeus (see Jenkins, *JNSI*, XVII 1955, pp. 20 ff.; Narain, *The Indo-Greeks*, pp. 153-159). Tarn and other scholars believe, however, that the Kabul region remained in Greek hands until the time of the Kushan conquest (see Chapter I, n. 22).
24. Jenkins, *JNSI*, XVII (1955), pp. 2 ff.
25. Jenkins places him in the last decades of the first century B.C. (*JNSI*, XXI 1959, pp. 22-30).
26. Marshall, *Taxila*, pp. 65-66; Gondophares coins have also been found abundantly at Begram. There are said to be overstrikes by Gondophares or his allies of the coins of the Arsacid king Orodes II (57-37/36 B.C.) and Artabanus III (A.D. 12-38); but these have not been thoroughly analyzed (Cunningham, *NC*, 1890, p. 119; Rapson, *CHI*, p. 578).
27. Marshall, *Taxila*, p. 65; Monneret de Villard in Pope, *Survey of Persian Art*, Vol. I, pp. 445-448.
28. Van Lohuizen, *SPIH*, pp. 351-362, gives a detailed bibliography of the issue. See also Bussagli, *East and West (IsMEO)*, III, pp. 5-11.
29. Philostratus, *On Apollonius of Tyana*, II.20, 23, 25.
30. Konow, *CII*, pp. 57-62.
31. Rapson, *BMC*, pp. xcvi-clvii.
32. Edited by Jacobi, *ZDMG*, 1880, pp. 247 ff.; summarized by Konow, *CII*, pp. xxvi-xxviii.
33. Lüders' List, nos. 1099, 1133, 1135; Senart, *EI*, VIII (1903), pp. 56-96.
34. At Mathurā, a round stone slab was found at Gaṇeśra, marking the foundation of a stūpa. *ASIR* 1911-12, pp. 128 ff.; Agrawala, *Cat.* pp. 149-150; Lüders, *Mathurā Inscriptions*, p. 158, where he indicates that the word "Kshaharātā" may be a title rather than the name of a clan or family. See Rapson, *BMC*, p. cvii.
35. Raychaudhuri, *Political History of Ancient India*, p. 496; Spink, *Rock-cut Monuments of the Andhra Period*, and *Art Bulletin*, XL (1958), pp. 95-104.
36. Rapson, *BMC*, p. cxi.
37. Banerji, *EI*, XVI (1921), pp. 19 ff.
38. *Geographia*, VII.i.63.
39. Rapson, *BMC*, cxii-xxiii. This is one argument for Nahapāna's use of the Saka era. Rapson also feels that the use of Kharoshthī on the coins of Nahapāna and Caṣṭana indicates a connection or relationship between the Western Kshatrapas and the Sakas of the northwest.

40. Keilhorn, *EI*, VII (1905), pp. 36 ff.
41. The *Vṛiddhayavanajātaka* of Mīnarāja, dated roughly in the third or fourth century A.D., based on a prose translation from the Greek source made by Yavaneśvara in A.D. 149. See Pingree, *JAOS*, 79 (1959), pp. 267-270.
42. Sircar in *The Age of Imperial Unity*, p. 165; P. L. Gupta, *JUPHS*, XXIII (1950), pp. 169-174; Allan, *BMC Ancient India*, pp. clxvii-xlii; Altekar and Majumdar, *Vākātaka-Gupta Age*, p. 27.
43. B. C. Law, *Ujjayinī in Ancient India*; Bāṇa, *Kādambarī*, Ridding trans., pp. 212-214.
44. Rapson, *BMC*, p. cxi.
45. Fleet, *CII*, p. 21.
46. Allan, *BMC Ancient India*, p. cxi.
47. Bachhofer, *JAOS* 61 (1941), p. 237.
48. Konow, *CII*, pp. 30-49; van Lohuizen, pp. 332-335, with detailed references to the literature on this inscription.
49. For example, the catalogue to the exhibition 5000 Jahre Kunst aus Indien, no. 106.
50. Whitehead, *PMC*, p. 159; Cunningham, *NC*, 1890, pp. 127-128.
51. Konow, *CII*, p. 38.
52. Van Lohuizen, *SPIH*, p. 17, with further references to studies by Thomas, Fleet, and Jayaswal.
53. Smith, *ZDMG*, 61 (1907), p. 404.
54. Allan, *BMC Ancient India*, p. cxv.
55. Cunningham, *NC*, 1890, p. 783; Marshall, *Taxila*, Pl. 241, no. 183.
56. Marshall, *ibid.*, Pl. 240, no. 177-179. There is also a copper coin of Rājūvula found in Taxila which has a reverse type of the equestrian king holding a whip, the characteristic type of Azilises and Azes II. This unique coin reinforces the theory that Rājūvula belonged to the later stages of Saka rule in the northwest (Marshall, *ibid.*, p. 836, Pl. 241, no. 182).
57. Allan, *BMC Ancient India*, p. cxv.
58. Rapson, *BMC*, p. ciii.
59. That Rājūvula and the two Stratos were not much removed from each other in time is indicated by hoard of 96 coins of Strato I and 87 of Rājūvula found together at Mathurā (Noe, *NNM*, 25 [1925], p. 126).
60. Jenkins, *JNSI*, XVII (1955), p. 19.
61. Allan, *BMC Ancient India*, Pl. XXVI.15-18.
62. *Ibid.*, pp. 190-191.
63. This is disputed. Van Lohuizen places Soḍāsa about 57 B.C., because of her reading of the date 72 on the Amohiṇī relief which was carved during his reign. She believes that this date belongs to a Saka era founded in 129 B.C. at the time of the Saka conquest of Bactria (*SPIH*, p. 332).
64. Van Lohuizen's statement that the Hindu monarchs Gomitra and Vishṇumitra belong to the period following Soḍāsa is contrary to numismatic evidence (*SPIH*, p. 336; Allan, *BMC Ancient India*, pp. cviii-cxi and 169-182).
65. For example, a large seated Buddha image exported from Mathurā to Srāvastī (*ASIR* 1908-09, pp. 131 ff.; *ASIR* 1910-11, Pl. VIa, p. 11).
66. Lüders' List no. 83.
67. Mathurā Museum no. A.66. Lüders, *Mathurā Inscriptions*, p. 31; Agrawala, *Cat.*, pp. 62, 64.
68. Whitehead, *PMC*, p. 157; Marshall, *Taxila*, p. 61.
69. Van Lohuizen, *SPIH*, pp. 25-26; Konow, *CII*, p. lxix.
70. See n. 3 above.

NOTES TO CHAPTER VI

1. Quoted by Piggott, *Some Ancient Cities of India*, p. 42, as part of an informal but excellent archaeological sketch of the city. See also Growse, *Mathura, a District Memoir*, an encyclopaedic essay in local history, folklore, religion, ethnology, and linguistics—a pioneer monument of British Indian scholarship.
2. The basic accounts of this excavation are: Vogel, *ASIR*, 1911-12, pp. 120-127; Vogel, *SM*, pp. 21-23; Agrawala, *Cat.*, pp. 38-44; and an unpublished field notebook recording miscellaneous finds from the site, now in the Curator's office, Mathurā Museum. See also Lüders, *Mathurā Inscriptions*, pp. 131-147.
3. Vogel, *ASIR*, 1911-12, Pl. LVI.
4. The village at Māt plays a minor role in the popular cult of Kṛishṇa. Recent Hindu tra-

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- Alberuni. See al-Biruni.
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